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INVESTIGATION OF COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES IN THE STATE OF MICHIGAN—Part 2 (DETROIT—Labor)

HEARING

BEFORE THE

COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

EIGHTY-THIRD CONGRESS
SECOND SESSION

APRIL 28 AND 29, 1954

Printed for the use of the Committee on Un-American Activities

INCLUDING INDEX



UNITED STATES
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE
WASHINGTON : 1954

Boston Public Library
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PUBLIC LAW 601, 79TH CONGRESS

The legislation under which the House Committee on Un-American Activities operates is Public Law 601, 79th Congress [1946], chapter 753, 2d session, which provides:

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled, * * **

PART 2—RULES OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

RULE X

SEC. 121. STANDING COMMITTEES

* * * * * 17. Committee on Un-American Activities, to consist of nine members

RULE XI

POWERS AND DUTIES OF COMMITTEES

(q) (1) Committee on Un-American Activities.
(A) Un-American activities.

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(2) The Committee on Un-American Activities, as a whole or by subcommittee, is authorized to make from time to time investigations of (i) the extent, character, and objects of un-American propaganda activities in the United States, (ii) the diffusion within the United States of subversive and un-American propaganda that is instigated from foreign countries or of a domestic origin and attacks the principle of the form of government as guaranteed by our Constitution, and (iii) all other questions in relation thereto that would aid Congress in any necessary remedial legislation.

The Committee on Un-American Activities shall report to the House (or to the Clerk of the House if the House is not in session) the results of any such investigation, together with such recommendations as it deems advisable.

For the purpose of any such investigation, the Committee on Un-American Activities, or any subcommittee thereof, is authorized to sit and act at such times and places within the United States, whether or not the House it sitting, has recessed, or has adjourned, to hold such hearings, to require the attendance of such witnesses and the production of such books, papers, and documents, and to take such testimony, as it deems necessary. Subpenas may be issued under the signature of the chairman of the committee or any subcommittee, or by any member designated by any such chairman, and may be served by any person designated by any such chairman or member.

RULES ADOPTED BY THE 83D CONGRESS

House Resolution 5, January 3, 1953

RULE X

STANDING COMMITTEES

1. There shall be elected by the House, at the commencement of each Congress, the following standing committees:

(q) Committee on Un-American Activities, to consist of nine members.

RULE XI

POWERS AND DUTIES OF COMMITTEES

17. Committee on Un-American Activities.

(a) Un-American activities.

(b) The Committee on Un-American Activities, as a whole or by subcommittee, is authorized to make from time to time, investigations of (1) the extent, character, and objects of un-American propaganda activities in the United States, (2) the diffusion within the United States of subversive and un-American propaganda that is instigated from foreign countries or of a domestic origin and attacks the principle of the form of government as guaranteed by our Constitution, and (3) all other questions in relation thereto that would aid Congress in any necessary remedial legislation.

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INVESTIGATION OF COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES IN THE STATE OF MICHIGAN—PART 2 (Detroit—Labor)

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 28, 1954

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE COMMITTEE OF UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES
Detroit, Mich.

EXECUTIVE SESSION ¹

The subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities met, pursuant to notice, at 10:45 a. m., in room 1786, Hotel Fort Shelby, Hon. Kit Clardy presiding.

Committee member present: Representative Kit Clardy (presiding).

Staff members present: Donald T. Appell and W. Jackson Jones, investigators.

Mr. CLARDY. Let the record show that under the authority of the Honorable Harold H. Velde, chairman of the committee, a subcommittee consisting of myself has been appointed to conduct executive sessions in Michigan.

Call your first witness.

Mr. APPELL. I have as my first witness Mr. Milton J. Santwire.

Mr. CLARDY. Will you raise your right hand? Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. SANTWIRE. I do.

Mr. CLARDY. You may be seated.

Mr. APPELL. Will you state your full name?

TESTIMONY OF MILTON JOSEPH SANTWIRE

Mr. SANTWIRE. Milton Joseph Santwire.

Mr. APPELL. When and where were you born?

Mr. SANTWIRE. I was born in Windsor, Vt., May 21, 1915.

Mr. APPELL. How long have you been a resident of the State of Michigan?

Mr. SANTWIRE. Since December of 1938.

Mr. APPELL. Are you the same Milton J. Santwire who was a witness for the United States Government in a Smith Act trial which was just concluded in the city of Detroit, Mich.?

Mr. SANTWIRE. Yes, I am.

¹ Released by the committee.

Mr. APPELL. During your testimony at that trial was it brought out that you had been a member of the Communist Party and had worked as an undercover operative, supplying information to the United States Government?

Mr. SANTWIRE. That is correct.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Santwire, when did you first join the Communist Party?

Mr. CLARDY. Witness, I suggest you give us in your own words the complete story as to your first association with the movement and what developed thereafter.

Mr. SANTWIRE. In 1939 I became a member of the Young Communist League. I remained a member of the Young Communist League until 1943, at which time I became a member of the American Youth for Democracy. This organization was the same youth movement, but for identity reasons the name had been changed.

In 1944 I became a member of the Communist Political Association. In 1945 I became a member of the Communist Party. I remained a member of the Communist Party until December 1953.

Mr. APPELL. And you remained a member of the Communist Party up to the time that you took the stand for the United States Government?

Mr. SANTWIRE. That is correct.

Mr. APPELL. Can you briefly relate the circumstances by which you joined the Young Communist League?

Mr. SANTWIRE. I was working at the Rouge plant of the Ford Motor Co., and during that time an organizational drive was taking place by the union, and I became involved within the organizational drive of the union. I became very friendly with various members of the party who were taking leadership in this organizational drive, and through their persuasion I did join the YCL.

Mr. APPELL. Who were the principal individuals to interest you in the YCL work, if we might use a phrase, "recruit" you into the YCL?

Mr. SANTWIRE. I don't recall who actually took my signature, but John Gallo and Bill McKie were responsible mainly for my signing up.

Mr. APPELL. How was the Young Communist League organized at the time you first joined? Did they have Young Communist League units in the shop and in the neighborhood?

Mr. SANTWIRE. At that time there were not, to my knowledge, any Young Communist League clubs in the plant. There were, however, Young Communist League clubs in the city.

Mr. APPELL. What type of unit were you assigned to as a member of the YCL, to a neighborhood group?

Mr. SANTWIRE. I was assigned to a neighborhood group which also participated in citywide activity.

Mr. APPELL. While some time has elapsed, can you recall the leaders within the YCL at that time and up to 1943 when the YCL was dissolved?

Mr. CLARDY. You mean the important men in the movement?

Mr. APPELL. Yes.

Mr. SANTWIRE. John Gallo was considered as one of the leaders of the YCL at that time.

Mr. CLARDY. What we have in mind, in addition to the two you have named, are there some others that you can recall that at least were taking part in the organizing movement?

Mr. SANTWIRE. There were others on a citywide basis—

Mr. CLARDY. No, I am speaking now only of the Rouge plant.

Mr. SANTWIRE. At the primary inception of the Young Communist League there was no considered elaborate leadership.

Mr. CLARDY. I see. How big did the group grow?

Mr. SANTWIRE. The group at Ford Rouge never did grow as such. In other words, there were never any organized Young Communist League clubs at the Ford Rouge plant.

Mr. CLARDY. I see. They were individual members who belonged to the citywide setup.

Mr. SANTWIRE. That is right.

Mr. CLARDY. But you had no separate, shall I call it, chapter at the Rouge plant?

Mr. SANTWIRE. There were no separate units.

Mr. CLARDY. How many individuals would you say were eventually brought into the citywide movement from the Rouge plant, without regard for their identity, just the number?

Mr. SANTWIRE. There were probably 50 people who worked at the Ford Rouge plant who became involved with the Young Communist League at one time or another.

Mr. APPELL. Who were the State leaders as you recall them in those days, not limiting yourself to the time when you first joined, but during the period in which you belonged to the YCL?

Mr. CLARDY. In other words, for the roughly 4-year period, 1939-43.

Mr. APPELL. If I might help you, was Norman Ross a State officer of the YCL at that time?

Mr. SANTWIRE. Yes.

Mr. APPELL. Was Margaret Campbell a State officer?

Mr. SANTWIRE. Yes; Bridget Poulson.

Mr. APPELL. Was Paul Endicott a State officer or leader?

Mr. SANTWIRE. He was a State leader, yes.

Mr. APPELL. Was Fred Fine active as a State leader during the Young Communist League?

Mr. SANTWIRE. He was here in the city from New York for a considerable time, and I don't recall him ever holding office. He was considered a leader of the youth movement.

Mr. CLARDY. An organizer, more or less?

Mr. SANTWIRE. Yes.

Mr. APPELL. Was he in before the Young Communist League was dissolved? Our investigation shows he was definitely in here during the days of the AYD.

Mr. SANTWIRE. Yes.

Mr. APPELL. Was Thomas Dennis, recently a defendant in the Smith Act trial, active in the Young Communist League?

Mr. SANTWIRE. He was.

Mr. APPELL. In 1943 you testified that the YCL was dissolved and the American Youth for Democracy created in its place. Could you very briefly tell why this was done?

Mr. SANTWIRE. For the purpose of dissolving the identity between the youth group and the parent group, namely, the Young Communist League and the Communist Party.

Mr. CLARDY. The idea being to get away from the use of that word "Communist," I take it.

Mr. SANTWIRE. Very true.

Mr. CLARDY. And hide its identity by substituting in effect the word "democracy."

Mr. SANTWIRE. American Youth for Democracy.

Mr. CLARDY. Actually they were picking up the word "democracy" more or less as a substitute and coverup for the fact that it was a Communist organization, weren't they?

Mr. SANTWIRE. Very true.

Mr. APPELL. Was it also true that while the Young Communist League accepted no one but members of the Communist Party as its members, that the American Youth for Democracy permitted non-Communists to join its ranks?

Mr. SANTWIRE. The American Youth for Democracy did permit people, young people, to join the movement.

Mr. CLARDY. Whether they were Communists or not?

Mr. SANTWIRE. Very true.

Mr. CLARDY. But did they indoctrinate them as soon as they got them under the canvas?

Mr. SANTWIRE. Very mildly at first, yes.

Mr. APPELL. But the AYD became a recruiting organization for the Communist Party rather than a Communist organization as it had been under the YCL?

Mr. SANTWIRE. That is correct.

Mr. APPELL. When the Young Communist League dropped its identity and became known as the American Youth for Democracy, did you continue in the same type of organization as you were as a member of the Young Communist League?

Mr. SANTWIRE. Same type of organization, same leadership, same program.

Mr. CLARDY. Same objectives?

Mr. SANTWIRE. Yes.

Mr. APPELL. In 1944 when you joined the Communist Party to what type of organization or unit of the Communist Party were you assigned?

Mr. SANTWIRE. I was assigned to what was known as section 10 of the Communist Party, which consisted of not only the party membership at the Ford Rouge plant, but also certain nationality groups within that particular area on the west side of Detroit.

Mr. CLARDY. At what stage of the proceeding did this take place?

Mr. APPELL. 1944, sir.

Mr. CLARDY. We are speaking then definitely of the time that you moved over from the AYD to the Communist Political Association.

Mr. SANTWIRE. That is right.

Mr. APPELL. How long did the Communist Party keep the organizational structure such as section 10? Did they continue that during the entire days of the Communist Political Association, or did they at a later time break down to neighborhood groups and name their clubs by Ben Davis or such other names?

Mr. SANTWIRE. I don't recall when the phrase "section 10" was actually dropped. It continued on through 1945, even after the change was made back to the Communist Party from the Communist Political Association.

Mr. APPELL. Did you stay in section 10, the Ford unit, all this period of time?

Mr. SANTWIRE. I was active in what was known as section 10 all during this period.

Mr. APPELL. With the discontinuance of the Communist Political Association and the reactivation of the Communist Party, were you assigned to any other unit of the Communist Party?

Mr. SANTWIRE. For geographical reasons I was assigned to the Ben Davis Club of the Communist Party.

Mr. APPELL. Then with your assignment to the Ben Davis Club, you were in fact meeting with two clubs of the Communist Party?

Mr. SANTWIRE. I was meeting with the Ben Davis Club, and I was also meeting with the Ford section.

Mr. APPELL. How long did you continue to meet with both?

Mr. SANTWIRE. For approximately a year.

Mr. APPELL. And after that year you went back to meeting with the Ford section?

Mr. SANTWIRE. That is correct.

Mr. APPELL. Solely?

Mr. SANTWIRE. Yes.

Mr. APPELL. You continued to meet solely with the Ford section up until the time you appeared as a witness for the United States Government?

Mr. SANTWIRE. I continued to meet with the Ford section until it primarily dissolved in January of 1950, and from that period on I met through front groups.

Mr. APPELL. Can you explain to the committee why the Ford section was dissolved in 1950?

Mr. SANTWIRE. In January of 1950—in fact, the last meeting that I recall attending, there was mention made by the leadership that Ford's plant was still the No. 1 concentration area of the country, but due to fear and nonparticipation on the part of the members and the overall failure of the membership to support the party program, they couldn't continue under the present status.

Mr. CLARDY. Let me see if I understand you. You mean that the party leaders regarded the Ford plant as a No. 1 objective in their organizational and other work?

Mr. SANTWIRE. The No. 1 concentration area throughout the country.

Mr. CLARDY. You use the words "concentration area." By that do you mean that it was the No. 1 target for organizing work and the No. 1 target in importance so far as they were concerned?

Mr. SANTWIRE. That is correct.

Mr. CLARDY. Thank you. Was that largely due to the fact that the Communists regard this area that we call an arsenal of democracy as extremely important from their standpoint, important because a crippling effort here would have more effect on preventing our doing anything against Russia if the need should come about?

Mr. SANTWIRE. That was the behind-the-scene motive. However, as it was explained to the membership, I very distinctly remember James Jackson stating that the Ford Rouge plant was the greatest single concentration of workers in any given single place in the country, and through propaganda and organization if Ford's could be gained, it would set the pattern for the smaller industries, and they would be much easier to gain also.

Mr. CLARDY. In other words, they did a little doubletalking. They gave one reason publicly, and at the same time they had other reasons privately, the other reasons being the fact that a crippling blow in this area would have greater effect on America's defense effort that if it was delivered at any other point.

Mr. SANTWIRE. That is the real truth, yes, sir.

Mr. APPELL. With the security measures that the party took in 1950 did the members of the Communist Party within the Ford section continue to meet?

Mr. SANTWIRE. After the dissolving of the Ford section as a section in January of 1950, which is referred to by going underground, many of the members failed to respond to party leadership to continue to support the party movement. However, the leadership of the party at Ford's continued to meet and infiltrate the Progressive caucus and later dominated and controlled it.

Mr. APPELL. You, just a moment ago, referred to a statement made by James Jackson. Would you, for the record tell who James Jackson was and the role that he played?

Mr. SANTWIRE. James Jackson, former active party leader in Louisiana, came to Michigan as a replacement for Abner Berry and was considered to be the educational director for the State of Michigan for the party. He became very involved within the Ford section and its educational work and its general overall program. He is the same James Jackson who today is a fugitive from justice.

Mr. APPELL. As I recall, he was indicted under the Smith Act, and he was unable to be arrested on a warrant of arrest.

Mr. SANTWIRE. That is correct.

Mr. APPELL. Abner Berry, is that the same individual who is now negro editor of the Daily Worker?

Mr. SANTWIRE. That is correct.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Santwire, the committee heard testimony in 1952, and its investigation has shown, that within local 600 there is a political setup known as the progressive caucus. From the testimony and the investigation it is also apparent that within the progressive caucus there is another organization known as the inner caucus, and that within this inner caucus the members of the Communist Party who are employed by Ford control the program and policies of the broad progressive caucus. Were you a member of the progressive caucus while you were a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. SANTWIRE. Yes.

Mr. APPELL. Was there a setup known as an inner caucus?

Mr. SANTWIRE. There was a setup known as the inner caucus.

Mr. APPELL. What type of person was a member of the inner caucus?

Mr. SANTWIRE. The inner caucus consisted of mainly Communist Party members and those that were very, very close to the party.

Mr. APPELL. There were no people meeting within the inner caucus who were anti-Communist or anti-Communist Party?

Mr. SANTWIRE. No.

Mr. APPELL. When there were elections at Ford local 600 what part did the inner caucus play in the candidates that were put up by the progressive caucus?

Mr. SANTWIRE. The inner caucus of the broad progressive movement at Ford's was controlled and dominated by Communist Party leadership. Upon a direction and final decision of full-time Communist Party organizers were the candidates selected for the various offices, candidates, not only within the various units of the Ford Rouge plant, but also on the local level.

Mr. APPELL. Did these Communist functionaries sit in on meetings of the inner caucus?

Mr. SANTWIRE. The inner caucus would meet many times at the section headquarters of the Communist Party.

Mr. APPELL. In other words, the organizers of the Communist Party that decided on the candidates for office within local 600, or who gave their approval to candidates, met with the people as members of the Communist Party and in meetings of the Ford section of the Communist Party?

Mr. SANTWIRE. That is correct.

Mr. APPELL. Now, who were these leaders of the Communist Party that met with the Ford section?

Mr. SANTWIRE. Phil Schatz, James Jackson, William Allan, Carl Winter, Nat Ganley, and most of the top leadership of the party.

Mr. APPELL. The people that you have named, were any of them employed by Ford Motor Co.?

Mr. SANTWIRE. No.

Mr. APPELL. Were any of them members of any trade union? Were any of them members of a trade union interested in Ford?

Mr. SANTWIRE. No.

Mr. APPELL. So that these people who were not employed or had no direct interest were sitting down and deciding the candidates that, if elected, would represent the workers at Ford?

Mr. SANTWIRE. That is very true.

Mr. APPELL. You have named Phil Schatz. Is he the same individual that was recently convicted under the Smith Act?

Mr. SANTWIRE. Yes, he is.

Mr. APPELL. You have named Carl Winter. Was he one of the original Smith Act defendants who was convicted in New York?

Mr. SANTWIRE. He was.

Mr. APPELL. You have named Billy Allan. Was he also a Smith Act defendant and recently convicted?

Mr. SANTWIRE. That is the same Billy Allan.

Mr. CLARDY. You named Nat Ganley also, did you not?

Mr. SANTWIRE. I did.

Mr. APPELL. Nat Ganley has also recently been convicted of violating the provisions of the Smith Act?

Mr. SANTWIRE. That is correct.

Mr. APPELL. So that individuals who have been convicted by a jury of conspiracy to advocate the overthrow of the Government of the United States were the people who decided what was best for the workers of Ford?

Mr. SANTWIRE. Phil Schatz and James Jackson, who were the organizers and educational directors of the Ford section, without any doubt played the biggest role in making decisions for the candidates for any particular unit or the local as a whole.

Mr. CLARDY. Well, now, come back to your original statement and question about their conviction. They were convicted of being party to a conspiracy to overthrow this Government through force and violence, were they not?

Mr. SANTWIRE. That is correct.

Mr. CLARDY. So that the men who have subsequently been convicted of that terrible offense were the men who were plotting the course that was to be followed by the union members of one of the largest plants in the United States.

Mr. SANTWIRE. That is true.

Mr. APPELL. As a matter of fact, Mr. Chairman, I think Local 600 is the largest union in the world.

Mr. SANTWIRE. That is correct.

Mr. CLARDY. That is my understanding, but I stated it cautiously because I wanted to be sure of my ground.

Mr. SANTWIRE. I might say in addition to that, as I mentioned earlier, Phil Schatz and James Jackson were the full-time party people assigned to the Ford section, and the others that I have mentioned would be in and out of the section and giving direction to the membership at Ford's, not only in an overall program of organization, but also in making decisions on candidates because they felt it was very important that party people be selected, or those very close to the party who would support the party program.

Mr. CLARDY. In other words, they were following the standard Communist technique of controlling, directing, and managing every movement they possibly could, weren't they?

Mr. SANTWIRE. That is very true.

Mr. CLARDY. That is nothing unusual so far as Communist technique was concerned. This was a standard procedure as outlined in the books and pamphlets and instructions that the Communist Party has put out from the very beginning.

Mr. SANTWIRE. Yes, and I assume that this same procedure was taking place elsewhere.

Mr. CLARDY. Our committee investigation shows that to be an understatement.

Mr. APPELL. When the progressive caucus nominated a person to run for an office, whether on a building level or on the local level, it did not necessarily mean that that person was a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. SANTWIRE. No.

Mr. APPELL. What did it mean in most instances?

Mr. SANTWIRE. It meant that he either was a member or would support their program, if elected.

Mr. CLARDY. In other words, he would carry out the Communist purposes, whether he carried the card or was an actual member or not.

Mr. SANTWIRE. That is right.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Santwire, when, within a meeting of the Ford section of the Communist Party, a decision was reached on an individual to be nominated, that same decision was reached in the inner caucus, and it was then brought to the broad caucus, what procedure would

be followed in case opposition was brought on the floor of the broad caucus to that candidate or whether a candidate nominated by the broad caucus had a chance of beating the man put up by the inner caucus?

Mr. SANTWIRE. When the final decision was made by the party leadership regarding any candidate, it was then brought to the broad progressive caucus meeting, a leading member of the party would nominate this particular person. If opposition from the rank and file of the progressive caucus was to an extent great, another member of the Communist Party leadership would also rise and speak in behalf of the original candidate named.

Mr. APPELL. By a show of strength the Communist Party members and members of the inner caucus would always beat down those in favor of a candidate not endorsed by the inner caucus?

Mr. SANTWIRE. Yes, they would be prepared and organized for not only the nomination but the selection of their candidate. They would come prepared, while the remaining members of the progressive caucus with their own particular choices would not be organized to the extent where their candidate would be selected.

Mr. APPELL. Within the inner caucus were there officers, were there people in control, chairmen of the inner caucus and other officers of the inner caucus?

Mr. SANTWIRE. There were no official officers; however, there were people who were considered as the best and most capable spokesmen for the group.

Mr. APPELL. Were individuals who were members of the inner caucus always the officers of the progressive caucus, the large caucus?

Mr. SANTWIRE. In many instances.

Mr. APPELL. Who was the chairman of the progressive caucus?

Mr. SANTWIRE. There were a number of chairmen. Sometimes there wasn't one particular person as chairman, but there were two as cochairmen.

Mr. APPELL. But who from the inner caucus have chaired the broad progressive caucus?

Mr. SANTWIRE. Dave Moore has been very active in playing both roles.

Mr. APPELL. Dave Moore is the same individual that appeared before the committee in 1952?

Mr. SANTWIRE. Yes.

Mr. APPELL. Was William H. Johnson ever chairman of the progressive caucus?

Mr. SANTWIRE. William H. Johnson has acted as chairman of some progressive caucus meetings.

Mr. APPELL. Was he a member of the inner caucus?

Mr. SANTWIRE. William H. Johnson, because of his position within local 600 leadership, has been very close to the party leadership, and I believe it is true that he also had a voice in decisions reached by the inner caucus.

Mr. APPELL. Did Bill Johnson visit the Ford section headquarters of the Communist Party?

Mr. SANTWIRE. He has been seen at the Ford section of the Communist Party on several occasions.

Mr. APPELL. Do you have any individual knowledge of what he was doing there?

Mr. SANTWIRE. I know that he has asked assistance of the Ford section for the immediate printing and distribution of leaflets on various issues, and it is probably true that he was seeking direction many times. He always consulted with the top leadership.

Mr. APPELL. The top leadership of the Communist Party?

Mr. SANTWIRE. Yes.

Mr. APPELL. In that particular section?

Mr. SANTWIRE. Yes.

Mr. APPELL. You talked about a request for the Ford section to put out leaflets on issues. Would these leaflets be put out over the name of the Communist Party? Would they be put out over the name of Local 600, or just how would the Communist Party put out these leaflets?

Mr. SANTWIRE. The signature on the leaflet all depended upon the issue involved. Sometimes it was signed by the rank and file committee for the Dearborn production foundry. Sometimes it would be signed by rank and file Progressives for the production foundry. Very seldom—in fact never do I recall—the name of Bill Johnson on a leaflet along with the Communist Party.

Mr. APPELL. Now, if someone like Johnson went to the Ford section headquarters of the Communist Party and asked them to put out a leaflet, irrespective of the issue, who would draft and approve the language of that leaflet?

Mr. SANTWIRE. The leaders of the Communist Party unit of the production foundry with whom Bill Johnson was very close usually drew up the proposed leaflet. Bill Johnson himself has brought that to the section headquarters, and with the cooperation and advice of the party leadership has had thousands of leaflets printed.

Mr. APPELL. Would the Ford section of the Communist Party ever print a leaflet, the language of which did not meet the approval of the leaders of the Communist Party?

Mr. SANTWIRE. I never recall a leaflet being issued by the Ford section of the Communist Party unless it was released by the top leadership.

Mr. APPELL. Speaking of the support of the non-Communists by the Communist Party, what would they consider or what reasons would they give for supporting that man? What qualifications would he have to have?

Mr. SANTWIRE. The most important qualification necessary for any member, any union member, to gain support by the party was that he primarily be a considered and respected leader of his fellow workers; secondly, that he agree directly or indirectly to follow the party program.

Mr. APPELL. Well, how would the Communist Party know that this man would follow their program if he was not a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. SANTWIRE. Many times they have selected a candidate in many of the units and agreed to support him because they knew that he could win. They were primarily interested in the individual that they supported winning, and many times they have supported him whether or not he was a party member, feeling that once he was elected, they could compel him by many means to go along with the party program.

Mr. APPELL. Do you know of the party members feeling a candidate like that out to make sure they would go along with him before they supported him?

Mr. SANTWIRE. Oh, yes; oh, yes.

Mr. APPELL. Have nonparty people been brought to section party headquarters to be interviewed by Schatz or Jackson or people in that echelon of the Communist Party?

Mr. SANTWIRE. Yes; they have been.

Mr. APPELL. Even though they were not members of the Communist Party?

Mr. SANTWIRE. That is correct.

Mr. APPELL. With the distribution and preparation of leaflets, what use was made of the clerical personnel of local 600?

Mr. SANTWIRE. Many of the girls employed—so still employed—at local 600 did take part in the promotion of and the labor involved in the distribution of leaflets.

Mr. APPELL. Were these girls who were employed in the office of local 600 in themselves members of the Communist Party?

Mr. SANTWIRE. Some of them were.

Mr. APPELL. I believe Mary Davis is employed in a clerical capacity in the office of local 600.

Mr. SANTWIRE. She is employed in a very influential position in local 600.

Mr. APPELL. Did you know Mary Davis to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. SANTWIRE. I considered her a member.

Mr. CLARDY. Suppose you explain that. You mean you considered her a member because she obeyed Communist orders and accepted Communist Party discipline, or do you have something else in mind?

Mr. SANTWIRE. I considered Mary Davis a member of the Communist Party through local 26, which consisted of office workers, mostly girls. Within local 26 there was also a party club of women. Mary Davis was very active in that party club.

Mr. CLARDY. That club was organized and formed and directed by the Communist Party?

Mr. SANTWIRE. Correct.

Mr. APPELL. Was that known as the Pen and Pencil Club?

Mr. SANTWIRE. That is correct.

Mr. APPELL. And you knew Mary Davis as a member of the Pen and Pencil Club?

Mr. SANTWIRE. I knew Mary Davis as a member of the Pen and Pencil Club, and her constant active participation in the broad party movement.

Mr. APPELL. Another employee in the office of local 600 was a witness that we had before the committee in 1952, Celia Edwards. Is Celia Edwards still employed in the office of local 600?

Mr. SANTWIRE. She is.

Mr. APPELL. Did you know Celia Edwards to be a member of the Pen and Pencil Club?

Mr. SANTWIRE. I did.

Mr. APPELL. Opal Palmer is believed to be an employee of local 600. Is Opal Palmer still employed there?

Mr. SANTWIRE. She is.

Mr. APPELL. Did you know Opal Palmer to be a member of the Pen and Pencil Club?

Mr. SANTWIRE. Yes, and in addition, Opal Palmer put in many, many hours in preparing stencils, running a mimeograph machine at the Ford section headquarters of the Communist Party.

Mr. APPELL. Another girl who was, I believe, employed in the office of local 600 was Ann Vartainian Boatin. Is Ann Vartainian Boatin still employed there?

Mr. SANTWIRE. Yes; she is.

Mr. APPELL. Did you know Ann Vartainian Boatin to be a member of the Pen and Pencil Club?

Mr. SANTWIRE. Yes; I did.

Mr. APPELL. Her husband, Paul Boatin, was a witness before the committee in 1952. Did you know Paul Boatin to be a member of the Ford section of the Communist Party?

Mr. SANTWIRE. Yes; he was.

Mr. APPELL. Another employee in the office of local 600 is Marie O'Connor. Is Marie O'Connor still employed in the office of local 600?

Mr. SANTWIRE. Marie O'Connor is still employed by local 600.

Mr. APPELL. Did you know Marie O'Connor to be a member of the Pen and Pencil Club?

Mr. SANTWIRE. Yes; I did.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Santwire, of the 5 girls that we have named, are they merely clerks in the office of local 600, or do they hold secretarial positions of importance?

Mr. SANTWIRE. They are not merely clerks. They do hold positions which are more or less key positions in the local union and are in a position to know what is taking place between the company and the union constantly, and many times, through the cooperation of Mary Davis and Celia Edwards has the party been informed of some key issue that was to arise between the company and the union.

That also applies with respect to relationships going on between officers of local 600 and International UAW headquarters as to what strategy they are planning. Marie O'Connor is the secretary sitting immediately outside the private offices of the president and vice president and takes all phone calls for the president and vice president. On many occasions, listened to the phone conversations and has been in a position and still is, as far as I know, to know what is taking place between not only the top officers, but also the international officers.

Mr. APPELL. So that with anti-Communist officers within local 600, these girls are in a position of knowing what the nonparty officers are doing, and thereby they are in a position to report to the Communist Party all of their actions?

Mr. SANTWIRE. Yes, and they have done it many times.

Mr. APPELL. You know that from information that has come in to the Ford section headquarters of the Communist Party?

Mr. SANTWIRE. Yes.

Mr. CLARDY. To use a short and ugly word then, they were more or less spies?

Mr. SANTWIRE. That is very true. I have known Mary Davis and Celia Edwards—in fact, Marie O'Connor—to relate what was considered very important information. Usually it was done by Mary

Davis with unlimited access to a phone, who would immediately get in touch with one or more of the top party leadership in the city. I have seen that take place many times.

Mr. APPELL. This brings up a question. After you testified in the Smith Act trial, you were accused by party press, and I also believe by individuals who have columns in Ford Facts, which is the publication of local 600, as a labor spy?

Mr. SANTWIRE. That is correct.

Mr. CLARDY. You mean the report is correct. It is correct that there was a report of that kind. You are not—

Mr. SANTWIRE. I never reported on labor.

Mr. CLARDY. I want to make sure there is no misunderstanding on the record.

Mr. APPELL. I want to follow that through, Mr. Chairman.

Did you ever make a report to anyone which had anything to do with labor-union activities as such?

Mr. SANTWIRE. I never did.

Mr. APPELL. Did you ever make a report which was not based upon what the Communists were doing within the local 600?

Mr. SANTWIRE. My desire was only to report on Communist Party activity.

Mr. APPELL. You were reporting on Communist Party activity to the Government of the United States?

Mr. SANTWIRE. That is correct.

Mr. APPELL. Yet Mary Davis, who is a member of the Communist Party is reporting to the Communist Party only union matters?

Mr. SANTWIRE. That is correct.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Santwire, I ask you again—I want you to realize that you are under oath—have you ever turned in a report on union activities as such?

Mr. SANTWIRE. I have never turned in a report on union activities as such.

Mr. APPELL. I might, for the sake of the record, tell you—and I think that you know from interviews that you have had—that this committee is not interested, and you have never been asked, and I would like to ask you if you have ever been asked about a pure union matter or union officers or what they are doing as pure union people?

Mr. SANTWIRE. I have never been approached by this or any other committee with a request to report on union matters as such.

Mr. APPELL. Has any agency of Government ever asked you to make a report on pure trade-union matters?

Mr. SANTWIRE. No.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Santwire, going back to the year that you spent as a member of the Ben Davis Club, did you know William Fletcher to be a member of the Ben Davis Club?

Mr. SANTWIRE. Yes. William Fletcher was not only a member, but he was acting chairman of the Ben Davis Club.

Mr. APPELL. Did you know Jeannette Ross to be a member of the Ben Davis Club?

Mr. SANTWIRE. Yes, I did.

Mr. APPELL. Was she the organizer for the Ben Davis Club?

Mr. SANTWIRE. At one time, yes.

Mr. APPELL. Did you know Reva Bernstein?

Mr. SANTWIRE. Yes.

Mr. APPELL. Did she assist Jeannette Ross in the organizational work for the Ben Davis Club?

Mr. SANTWIRE. Yes, on a limited basis.

Mr. APPELL. Did you know Elsie Nichamin?

Mr. SANTWIRE. Yes, I did.

Mr. APPELL. Was she financial secretary of the Ben Davis Club during the time that you were there?

Mr. SANTWIRE. Yes, she was.

Mr. APPELL. Did you know her husband, Phil Nichamin?

Mr. SANTWIRE. Yes, I did.

Mr. APPELL. Was he educational director of the Ben Davis Club during the time that you were a member?

Mr. SANTWIRE. He was educational director of the Ben Davis Club for part of the time.

Mr. APPELL. Did you know Phil Nichamin's occupation?

Mr. SANTWIRE. I knew that he was a school teacher.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Chairman, I should like to place in the record at this point that at the time the committee was making its investigation of Phil Nichamin, Phil Nichamin resigned his position as a school-teacher under the Detroit Board of Education, which position he had held for some 17 years, sold his home, and moved to California, all in a matter of a few weeks.

Mr. Santwire, did you hold an office of any type within the Ben Davis Club?

Mr. SANTWIRE. Yes, I was dues secretary for a period of months.

Mr. APPELL. Were you also, for a period of time, labor secretary or in charge of labor matters within the Ben Davis Club?

Mr. SANTWIRE. I was considered—in fact, I was selected to be the labor secretary and was requested to make comments from time to time as to the overall labor situation, local and national.

Mr. APPELL. Were you also a council delegate from the Ben Davis Club?

Mr. SANTWIRE. I was selected by the Ben Davis Club to act as their representative to the city-wide Communist Party organization.

Mr. APPELL. Was this the entire city or a section of the city of Detroit?

Mr. SANTWIRE. The various clubs within the entire city of Detroit would send delegates to participate in meetings on a citywide basis from time to time.

Mr. APPELL. Was Leonard Smith a member of the Ben Davis Club?

Mr. SANTWIRE. Yes, he was.

Mr. APPELL. Was he press director of the Ben Davis Club for sometime while you were a member?

Mr. SANTWIRE. Yes, he was.

Mr. APPELL. Did you know Evelyn Cochran as a member of the Ben Davis Club?

Mr. SANTWIRE. Yes, I did.

Mr. APPELL. Was Evelyn Cochran literature director for the Ben Davis Club?

Mr. SANTWIRE. She was literature director for many months.

Mr. APPELL. William Fletcher, whom you have identified as holding the position at one time of chairman of the Ben Davis section, is he a Ford worker?

Mr. SANTWIRE. He is.

Mr. APPELL. During the time that you first joined the Communist Party and were assigned to the Ford unit, what building unit were you assigned to?

Mr. SANTWIRE. I spent most of my time in what was known as the Plastic Club of the Ford section.

Mr. APPELL. Who was the chairman of the Plastic Club at the time you first joined?

Mr. SANTWIRE. I believe Ed Lock was the chairman of the Plastic Club when I first joined.

Mr. APPELL. Who has held that chairmanship during your entire membership?

Mr. SANTWIRE. Ed Lock remained as chairman of the plastic unit.

Mr. APPELL. Did you hold any office within the plastic unit?

Mr. SANTWIRE. Yes; I was selected and considered to be the literature director for the plastic unit at one time.

Mr. APPELL. With the office of literature director were you a member of the section committee?

Mr. SANTWIRE. By virtue of my being literature director I was a member of what was termed as a section council of the Communist Party structure at Ford's.

Mr. APPELL. When did you become a member of the council?

Mr. SANTWIRE. I believe it was late 1947 or 1948.

Mr. APPELL. Who were the members of the section council from the gear and axle unit?

Mr. SANTWIRE. Dave Moore was the most active member from the gear and axle unit, while Alex Semion also was a member of the section committee from the gear and axle unit.

Mr. APPELL. Did Dave Moore hold an office in the gear and axle building committee of local 600?

Mr. SANTWIRE. Dave Moore was the vice president of the gear and axle unit.

Mr. APPELL. During the investigation it has been indicated that Dave Moore now and always has controlled the officership of the gear and axle building officers. Is that true or false to your knowledge and understanding?

Mr. SANTWIRE. Although Dave Moore was at times not an officer of the gear and axle unit, he still was considered the key leadership of the party for that unit and controlled the leadership of the unit.

Mr. APPELL. Was there a unit of the Communist Party at the Dearborn assembly plant?

Mr. SANTWIRE. There was a Communist Party club in the Dearborn assembly plant at one time.

Mr. APPELL. Who were the delegates to the council from that club?

Mr. SANTWIRE. William Fletcher, Kermit Walton, and Leo Orsage.

Mr. APPELL. Was there a club of the Communist Party within the Dearborn engine plant?

Mr. SANTWIRE. At that time it was known as the motor building. It has since been changed and moved to another location which is referred to as Dearborn engine plant. There was a Communist Party club. In fact, at one time there were two clubs, to my knowledge, in that particular building.

Mr. APPELL. Who were the delegates to the council from the motor building?

Mr. SANTWIRE. The delegates from the motor building to the section council of the Communist Party were Paul Boatin, Leonard Lauderdale, John Gallo, a person known as Wilson.

Mr. APPELL. Is that a last name?

Mr. SANTWIRE. Yes. I know him real well, but his first name doesn't dawn on me. And also Bernard Bellinson.

Mr. APPELL. What is Bernard Bellinson's history in the labor movement, do you know?

Mr. SANTWIRE. Bernard Bellinson was one of the youth sent here, I understand, from New York to gain not only employment at Ford's but also positions of leadership within the union, which he did.

Mr. APPELL. If I recall the facts obtained during the committee's investigation, within almost a year he had become elected to a position within local 600, is that true?

Mr. SANTWIRE. That is correct.

Mr. APPELL. Was there a club of the Communist Party within the Dearborn iron foundry?

Mr. SANTWIRE. Yes, there was.

Mr. APPELL. Do you recall the identity of the delegates to the council of the Communist Party from the iron foundry?

Mr. SANTWIRE. Nelson Davis, Veal Clough, Tersil Obriot.

Mr. APPELL. If I recall correctly, there is both a job foundry and a production foundry. Did each of those units have clubs of the Communist Party within them?

Mr. SANTWIRE. The jobbing foundry is a separate building and contained not an active party club, to my knowledge, but a few people who did take part in the activities of the party at Ford's.

Mr. APPELL. Did the job foundry have delegates to the Communist Party council?

Mr. SANTWIRE. The jobbing foundry had a delegate by the name of Leo Cottrell.

Mr. APPELL. Was there a club of the Communist Party within the Dearborn stamping plant?

Mr. SANTWIRE. Yes, there was.

Mr. APPELL. Who were the delegates to the council from the Dearborn stamping plant?

Mr. SANTWIRE. Lee Romano, Archie Accacia, Bagrad Vartainian.

Mr. APPELL. Was there a unit or club of the Communist Party within the frame and cold heading plant?

Mr. SANTWIRE. Yes, there was.

Mr. APPELL. Who were the delegates to the council from that club?

Mr. SANTWIRE. To the best of my recollection the most active delegate was George Angeloff.

Mr. APPELL. Was there a club within the glass plant?

Mr. SANTWIRE. Not to my knowledge.

Mr. APPELL. Was there a club of the Communist Party within the open hearth?

Mr. SANTWIRE. Yes, there was.

Mr. APPELL. Who were the delegates to the Ford section council of the Communist Party from the open hearth?

Mr. SANTWIRE. This was a small club with less than a dozen members, and Pete Kasper was their delegate to the section council.

Mr. APPELL. Was there a club of the Communist Party within the plastic group?

Mr. SANTWIRE. Yes, there was.

Mr. APPELL. Is that the club to which you belonged?

Mr. SANTWIRE. That is the club to which I belonged.

Mr. APPELL. Was there a club of the Communist Party within the rolling mill?

Mr. SANTWIRE. I have never known the rolling mill to contain an organized party club. There were, however, a few individuals who supported and took part in the party movement.

Mr. APPELL. Was there a club of the Communist Party within the tool-and-die plant?

Mr. SANTWIRE. Yes, a very active club.

Mr. APPELL. Who were the delegates to the Ford district council of the Communist Party from the tool-and-die plant?

Mr. SANTWIRE. Jack Lawson,¹ Max Cinzori, Gus Elschner, Kenny Roach, Mike Hrabar, and Sam Rizzo.

Mr. APPELL. The Jack Lawson to whom you referred—Jack is his nickname, and is his real name John Lawson?

Mr. SANTWIRE. I have heard him called by both names.

Mr. APPELL. Kenneth Roach—is he the husband of Dorothy Llewellyn who is employed in the office of Ford local 600?

Mr. SANTWIRE. He is.

Mr. APPELL. Is his father-in-law Percy Llewellyn?

Mr. SANTWIRE. He is.

Mr. APPELL. What is Percy Llewellyn's relationship with the Communist Party, if you know?

Mr. SANTWIRE. Percy Llewellyn, in my years of knowing him, has constantly associated with, supported, and cooperated with the party leadership at Ford.

Mr. APPELL. Do you know Walter Dorosh?

Mr. SANTWIRE. Yes.

Mr. APPELL. Do you know Walter Dorosh to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. SANTWIRE. Yes.

Mr. APPELL. What position of influence on the part of the Communist Party did Walter Dorosh hold—or still holds—up until the time you broke with the Communist Party?

Mr. SANTWIRE. Walter Dorosh was another person who was a delegate to the section council of the Communist Party from the tool-and-die unit. He has been considered always one of the key leaders of the Communist Party within the tool-and-die unit. He has always been very active in the writing of and the distribution of leaflets as written and sponsored by the Communist Party, and to the best of my knowledge he still holds a position on the publicity committee of Ford local 600.

Mr. APPELL. Does he hold a position of chairman of the publicity committee of local 600?

Mr. SANTWIRE. I understand that the chairmanship changes occasionally from one to another.

Mr. APPELL. It is a rotating chairmanship?

Mr. SANTWIRE. That is what I understand; yes.

Mr. APPELL. Who else serves on the publicity committee with Dorosh?

¹ John J. Lawson.

Mr. SANTWIRE. Well, James Simmons, who has long been active in the Plastic Club of the Communist Party and also the section level of the Communist Party, is, I believe, still on the publicity committee.

Mr. APPELL. Is Paul Boatin a member of the publicity committee?

Mr. SANTWIRE. I am not sure whether Paul Boatin is actually a member or considered an adviser of the publicity committee. He does, however, take part.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Santwire, I am going to read you the names of individuals employed as workers in Ford, and I would like to ask you if you know any of these individuals to be members of the Communist Party.

Mr. APPELL. John Wourman?

Mr. SANTWIRE. Yes.

Mr. APPELL. Herb Lindberg?

Mr. SANTWIRE. Yes.

Mr. APPELL. James A. Tate?

Mr. SANTWIRE. Yes.

Mr. APPELL. Joe Mifsud?

Mr. SANTWIRE. Yes.

Mr. APPELL. Leroy Krawford?

Mr. SANTWIRE. Yes.

Mr. APPELL. Frank Stepanchenko?¹

Mr. SANTWIRE. It is my belief that he was a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. APPELL. Alex Semion?

Mr. SANTWIRE. Yes.

Mr. APPELL. Tom Jolley?

Mr. SANTWIRE. Yes.

Mr. APPELL. Arthur D'Agostino?

Mr. SANTWIRE. At one time I believe he was.

Mr. APPELL. Vincent Bizziochi?

Mr. SANTWIRE. Yes.

Mr. APPELL. Bob Lieberman,² who used to be editor of Ford Facts?

Mr. SANTWIRE. It is my belief that he was a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. APPELL. Rueben Mardiros?

Mr. SANTWIRE. Yes.

Mr. APPELL. Leo Asordian?

Mr. SANTWIRE. Yes.

Mr. APPELL. Oscar Machigan?

Mr. SANTWIRE. Yes, M-a-c-h-i-g-a-n.

Mr. APPELL. Within the gear and axle building, an individual by the name of Vincent Mitchell?

Mr. SANTWIRE. I believe he was a member of the party.

Mr. APPELL. Did you ever attend any meetings with him?

Mr. SANTWIRE. Yes.

Mr. APPELL. Roy Narancich?

Mr. SANTWIRE. Yes.

Mr. APPELL. Within the stamping plant, Al Williams?

¹ Frank Stepanchenko testified fully on April 28, 1954, regarding his past Communist Party membership and activities. See p. 5133.

² Robert Lieberman appeared before the committee in executive session in 1952. During this appearance he refused to answer all pertinent questions, invoking his privilege under the fifth amendment.

Mr. SANTWIRE. At one time I believe he was a member.

Mr. APPELL. You attended Communist Party meetings with him?

Mr. SANTWIRE. Yes.

Mr. APPELL. John Lacy, within the open hearth?

Mr. SANTWIRE. Yes.

Mr. APPELL. Within the plastics plant was there an individual having the same first name and last name of the recording secretary, William Johnson?

Mr. SANTWIRE. There was a Herbert Johnson in the Plastic Club of the Communist Party.

Mr. APPELL. Was there a William Jackson?

Mr. SANTWIRE. Yes.

Mr. APPELL. Art Hawkins?

Mr. SANTWIRE. Yes.

Mr. APPELL. Pythias Austin?

Mr. SANTWIRE. Pythias Austin, yes.

Mr. APPELL. Milton Schleicher, S-c-h-l-e-i-c-h-e-r?

Mr. SANTWIRE. But he is not employed at Ford's.

Milton Schleicher resides on the east side of Detroit and has, to the best of my knowledge, always remained in the Briggs unit.

Mr. APPELL. Has Schleicher attended meetings of the Communist Party at Ford section headquarters.

Mr. SANTWIRE. I never recall Milton Schleicher attending meetings of the Ford section as such.

Mr. APPELL. I think I have failed to place into the record up to this point the location of the Ford section headquarters of the Communist Party.

Mr. SANTWIRE. From 1944, I believe, until the section dissolved, the headquarters were at 5642 Michigan Avenue, on the west side of Detroit. Prior to that time they had another location up the street a bit.

Mr. APPELL. Did a fire destroy that building?

Mr. SANTWIRE. That is correct.

Mr. APPELL. Did you know Leo Krugh?

Mr. SANTWIRE. Yes.

Mr. APPELL. Was he at one time employed by Ford?

Mr. SANTWIRE. Yes.

Mr. APPELL. Is he still employed by Ford?

Mr. SANTWIRE. Not to my knowledge. He left Ford's and told me he was going to Pennsylvania. He does, however, have a brother who works at Ford's and he is very active in the tool-and-die unit.

Mr. APPELL. Is his brother Larry Krugh?

Mr. SANTWIRE. That is correct.

Mr. APPELL. Did you know an individual by the name of Otis Reavis?

Mr. SANTWIRE. Yes; I did know of an individual by that name.

Mr. APPELL. Was he employed by Ford Motor Co. at any time?

Mr. SANTWIRE. Not to my knowledge. I believe he was also employed by Briggs.

Mr. APPELL. In the motor building there is an individual by the name of Robertson, I believe it is Harold Robertson?

Mr. SANTWIRE. That is correct.

Mr. APPELL. Did you know Harold Robertson to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. SANTWIRE. Yes; very much so.

Mr. APPELL. Was he a member of the Motor Building Club?

Mr. SANTWIRE. He was a member of the Motor Building Club.

Mr. APPELL. Is he still employed by Ford, to the best of your knowledge?

Mr. SANTWIRE. To the best of my knowledge he is still employed.

Mr. APPELL. Harold Syverson?

Mr. SANTWIRE. Yes. He is not employed at Ford's.

Mr. APPELL. Do you know him to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. SANTWIRE. Yes.

Mr. APPELL. Is he in the downriver section of the Communist Party as it is known?

Mr. SANTWIRE. I only heard he was. My knowledge of him was gained through attendance at various schools at the same time.

Mr. APPELL. John Saari?

Mr. SANTWIRE. Yes.

Mr. APPELL. He was at one time within the Motor Club of the Communist Party?

Mr. SANTWIRE. That is correct.

Mr. APPELL. Marty Wellin?

Mr. SANTWIRE. Yes. Marty Wellin is another one of the youths sent here from New York to gain employment and positions of leadership. He is no longer working at Ford's, was discharged for agitation.

Mr. APPELL. Arnold Krieger?

Mr. SANTWIRE. Yes.

Mr. APPELL. Was he a member of the Tool and Die Club?

Mr. SANTWIRE. He was a member of the Tool and Die Club.

Mr. APPELL. Is he still employed at Ford, to your knowledge?

Mr. SANTWIRE. To the best of my knowledge he is still employed.

Mr. APPELL. Is Arnold Krieger another of the—to use the Communist phrase—colonizers, which were sent into the Detroit area?

Mr. SANTWIRE. From New York, that is correct.

Mr. APPELL. Steve Dimitro?

Mr. SANTWIRE. Yes.

Mr. APPELL. Was he a member of the Foundry Club of the Communist Party?

Mr. SANTWIRE. Yes; he was.

Mr. APPELL. Did you know if he held any office in the club?

Mr. SANTWIRE. Steve was used as what is commonly referred to as a Jimmy Higgins. He would take bundles of this and that to different places and run their errands for them.

Mr. APPELL. How about a William Jackson, Jr., who was in plastics?

Mr. SANTWIRE. Yes.

Mr. APPELL. Is he any relation to James Jackson?

Mr. SANTWIRE. No.

Mr. APPELL. Merle B. Lord?

Mr. SANTWIRE. Yes.

Mr. APPELL. Who is employed at the motor building?

Mr. SANTWIRE. Yes.

Mr. APPELL. Frank J. Martin in the foundry?

Mr. SANTWIRE. Yes.

Mr. APPELL. Charles E. Morgan in the stamping?

Mr. SANTWIRE. Yes.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Santwire, have you, as a member of the Communist Party, attended schools operated by the Communist Party?

Mr. SANTWIRE. Yes; I have attended, I believe, at least 6 different courses of study sponsored by the Communist Party directly or the Michigan School of Social Science.

Mr. APPELL. What are some of these schools that you attended?

Mr. SANTWIRE. I attended a general course of study which was conducted by Phil Raymond in 1944. I attended a class conducted by William Allan on the history of the American labor movement. I attended a class on wage theory and collective bargaining conducted by Nat Ganley. I attended a class conducted by Hugo Beiswenger, based on advanced Marxism. I attended a class on imperialism conducted by Ann Beiswenger, B-e-i-s-w-e-n-g-e-r.

Mr. APPELL. Is she the wife of Hugo Beiswenger?

Mr. SANTWIRE. She is. I also attended a class on dialectical materialism conducted by Hugo Beiswenger.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Santwire, did you know within the Communist Party an individual by the name of Sidney Graber?

Mr. SANTWIRE. Yes, I did.

Mr. APPELL. Did you know Sidney Graber's occupation?

Mr. SANTWIRE. I only know that he was a school teacher.

Mr. APPELL. Have you attended closed meetings of the Communist Party with Sidney Graber?

Mr. SANTWIRE. I have.

Mr. APPELL. Have you attended any of the State conferences of the Communist Party with Sidney Graber?

Mr. SANTWIRE. I believe that Sidney Graber has been in attendance at closed party meetings consisting of members of the State leadership.

Mr. APPELL. Did you know David Mates to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. SANTWIRE. I believe he was a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. APPELL. Have you ever attended any closed meetings with David Mates?

Mr. SANTWIRE. Yes.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Santwire, in asking you if you know the following individuals to be members of the Communist Party, I want you only to say that you do if you have attended closed meetings of the Communist Party with these individuals.

Mr. APPELL. Evelyn Gladstone?

Mr. SANTWIRE. Yes.

Mr. APPELL. Max Trachtenberg?

Mr. SANTWIRE. Yes, T-r-a-c-h-t-e-n-b-e-r-g.

Mr. APPELL. Ann S. Crowe?

Mr. SANTWIRE. Yes.

Mr. APPELL. Phillip H. Halper?

Mr. SANTWIRE. Yes.

Mr. APPELL. Fred M. Fisch?

Mr. SANTWIRE. Yes.

Mr. APPELL. James Cichocki?

Mr. SANTWIRE. Yes.

Mr. APPELL. Edith Van Horn?

Mr. SANTWIRE. Yes.

Mr. APPELL. Ralph Fileccia?

Mr. SANTWIRE. Yes.

Mr. APPELL. Sven Falk?

Mr. SANTWIRE. Yes.

Mr. APPELL. Harold L. Shapiro?

Mr. SANTWIRE. Yes.

Mr. APPELL. Benjamin F. Kocel?

Mr. SANTWIRE. Yes.

Mr. APPELL. Richard Lawrence Davis?

Mr. SANTWIRE. Yes.

Mr. APPELL. Joe Chrin?

Mr. SANTWIRE. Yes.

Mr. APPELL. Robert Rowlson?

Mr. SANTWIRE. Yes.

Mr. APPELL. James R. Montgomery?

Mr. SANTWIRE. Yes.

Mr. APPELL. Vera Katz Raymond?

Mr. SANTWIRE. Yes.

Mr. APPELL. Shirley Goodman?¹

Mr. SANTWIRE. Yes.

Mr. APPELL. Do you know what her occupation was?

Mr. SANTWIRE. I don't believe that I ever did know. She had a brother, Cal, who was in the Navy, and she had some sisters who were also active.

Mr. APPELL. Thomas Bryant?

Mr. SANTWIRE. Yes.

Mr. APPELL. Janet Mitchnick?

Mr. SANTWIRE. Yes.

Mr. CLARDY. Mr. Appell, does that conclude all the questions you have?

Mr. APPELL. Yes, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. CLARDY. Very well then. We will now recess for lunch. It is 6 minutes after 1. We will recess for 1 hour, to about 5 minutes after 2. You will be excused, witness, for the present. You are continued under the subpena.

(Thereupon, at 1:06 p. m., the hearing was recessed, to reconvene at 2:05 p. m. of the same day.)

¹ Now Mrs. Shirley Goodman Rapoport. On May 5, 1954, she appeared in executive session and took refuge in the fifth amendment with respect to questions regarding Communist Party membership except to deny Communist Party membership as of that day. See Investigation of Communist Activities in the State of Michigan—Part 1 (Detroit—Education), p. 5081.

INVESTIGATION OF COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES IN THE STATE OF MICHIGAN—PART 2 (Detroit—Labor)

THURSDAY, APRIL 29, 1954

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,
Detroit, Mich.

EXECUTIVE SESSION ¹

The subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities met, pursuant to recess, at 10:30 a.m., in room 1786, Hotel Fort Shelby, Hon. Kit Clardy (acting chairman) presiding.

Committee members present: Representative Kit Clardy.

Staff members present: Mr. Donald T. Appell and Mr. W. Jackson Jones, investigators.

Mr. CLARDY. The hearing will be in order.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Chairman, I would like to call as my first witness Mr. Steve Schemanske.

Would you stand and be sworn?

Mr. CLARDY. You do solemnly swear the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. SCHEMANSKE. I do.

TESTIMONY OF STEPHEN J. SCHEMANSKE

Mr. APPELL. Will you please state your full name for the record?

Mr. SCHEMANSKE. Stephen J. Schemanske.

Mr. APPELL. When were you born?

Mr. SCHEMANSKE. March 18, 1912.

Mr. APPELL. Will you outline briefly your educational background?

Mr. SCHEMANSKE. I attended the Assumption Grade School and Holy Redeemer High School in Detroit, Mich. I spent 1 year at St. Mary's Seminary at Orchard Lake. I also completed a business and stenographic course at the Detroit Business Institute.

Mr. APPELL. Are you the Stephen Schemanske who was a witness for the United States Government at the recent Smith Act trials which were held in Detroit, Mich?

Mr. SCHEMANSKE. I am.

Mr. APPELL. During the course of your testimony before the court you were identified as having been a member of the Communist Party

¹ Released by the committee.

and having worked as an undercover operative for some 17 years, is that true?

Mr. SCHEMANSKE. It is.

Mr. APPELL. Were you known within the Communist Party as Stephen J. Schemanske?

Mr. SCHEMANSKE. No; I was not.

Mr. APPELL. By what name were you known within the Communist Party?

Mr. SCHEMANSKE. I was known by the name of Steve Simmons, S-i-m-m-o-n-s, and also Steve Semenuk, S-e-m-e-n-u-k.

Mr. APPELL. So that as we go on with this record, any testimony that you will be giving with respect to the Communist Party will be on the basis of material that came into your possession while you were a member of the Communist Party under the name Steve Simmons or Steve Semenuk?

Mr. SCHEMANSKE. Correct.

Mr. APPELL. Have you ever been a member of the Young Communist League?

Mr. SCHEMANSKE. Yes.

Mr. APPELL. Have you ever been a member of the Communist Party, USA?

Mr. SCHEMANSKE. Yes.

Mr. APPELL. What are the circumstances attendant to your joining these organizations?

Mr. SCHEMANSKE. My primary purpose was to obtain information on subversive activities.

Mr. APPELL. When did you, to the best of your recollection, join the Young Communist League?

Mr. SCHEMANSKE. I joined in the latter part of 1938 approximately.

Mr. APPELL. What was the Young Communist League at the time you joined?

Mr. SCHEMANSKE. The Young Communist League was regarded as the youth organization of the Communist Party. Its program was based on the principles of Marxism and Leninism and conformed to the program of the Communist Party. The Young Communist League was regarded as the training center for young Communist youth and their preparations for membership in the Communist Party. Some of the leading members of the National Committee of the Communist Party today have held membership in the Young Communist League.

Mr. APPELL. How long were you a member of the Young Communist League?

Mr. SCHEMANSKE. I was a member of the Young Communist League for approximately 5 years, from the latter part of 1938 to the latter part of 1943.

Mr. APPELL. Did you hold any positions in the Young Communist League?

Mr. SCHEMANSKE. Yes.

Mr. APPELL. Will you please tell us what they were?

Mr. SCHEMANSKE. I was treasurer of the Wonders Branch of the Young Communist League, in which I held membership. I was also a representative on the district committee and district council of the Young Communist League and was assigned the responsibility of secretary-treasurer of the Young Communist League on the State

level. I participated at the national convention of the Young Communist League in October 1943 when the Young Communist League was dissolved and became the American Youth for Democracy.

Mr. APPELL. Can you briefly describe the organizational setup of the Young Communist League during your period of membership?

Mr. SCHEMANSKE. The organizational setup of the Young Communist League during that period coincided closely with that of the Communist Party. The Young Communist League of Michigan then claimed a total membership of approximately 1,000 and was affiliated with and controlled by the national office of the Young Communist League in New York City.

The Michigan district of the Young Communist League had an office adjoining the Michigan Communist Party offices, located at 2419 Grand River, Detroit. In 1943 the Young Communist League had as its organizers Adeline Kohl or Lustgarten as State secretary and Norman Ross as State administrative secretary. To the best of my recollection, both Kohl and Ross were sent to the Michigan area from New York City, on instruction from the national office of the Young Communist League. The Michigan Young Communist League at that time was completely governed by these full-time organizers, who carried out the instructions handed down by the national Young Communist League organization and also cooperated fully with the Communist Party.

To impress the membership of its supposedly democratic organization, the Michigan Young Communist League was set up on the following basis:

District buro: The district buro was considered the highest governing body within the State organization. Its membership consisted of leading Young Communist League functionaries appointed by the full-time paid Young Communist League State organizers, who merely used them as puppets to enforce their objectives. Only the most trusted and conscientious members were appointed to this body, since they were considered the key leadership who carried out the plan of action laid down by the national committee and also dealt with local problems confronting the league, regarding organization, et cetera. To the best of my recollection, some of the members of the district buro of the Young Communist League during 1942 to 1943 were Norman Ross, Adeline Kohl, Mary Cummins Maraniss, Thomas Dennis, Anabel Purdy, Mabel Lee Smith, and Martha Ross. The district organizational committee was composed of individuals who were appointed by the district leadership to carry out the policies of work within the district as laid down by the district buro. During the period I held membership on the committee it was representative of the following: membership director, Martha Ross; educational director, Thomas Dennis; literature and review director, Anabel Purdy.

During 1943, the following Young Communist League branches were represented in the Michigan area:

Ann Arbor, Dorie Miller; Frederick Douglass; Colin Kelly; Foster-Liberty; Patterson; Tom Paine Victory; West Side; Flint; and Grand Rapids.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Schemanske, you have just identified as an officer of the Young Communist League Mary Cummins. Do you know Mary Cummins by any other name?

Mr. SCHEMANSKE. Yes, I do. Mary Cummins is now Mary Maraniss, wife to Elliott Maraniss, who previously was an uncooperative witness before this committee. Cummins is the maiden name of Mary Maraniss.

Mr. APPELL. Can you recall why the Young Communist League was dissolved and replaced by the American Youth for Democracy?

Mr. SCHEMANSKE. The purpose was to form a broad united front youth movement in this country to support the war effort in line with the policy and program of the Soviet Union, which was then under attack by Hitler. The program for the American Youth for Democracy organization, projected by Max Weiss, national president of the Young Communist League, was practically the same program as that carried out by the Young Communist League, with the exclusion of the formerly required education of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin. However, former Young Communist League members active in the American Youth for Democracy would be able to get their Marxist education within the Communist Party. In this respect, the Communist Party would lower the age limit of membership. This action was based on a series of proposals then submitted by the national council of the Young Communist League relative to the dissolution of the Young Communist League and formation of the American Youth for Democracy. These proposals in part state, and I quote verbatim:

What about the Marxist education of youth? There is an important though smaller section of the Young Communist League membership which is already convinced of the correctness of the Marxist program for the development of society and which adheres to the program of the Communist Party of the United States. Such Communist youth should have the fullest opportunity to express their views in a democratic youth organization. The convention shall undoubtedly propose that other youth interested in these views shall have the opportunity to learn more about Marxism and communism through classes and study groups organized and voluntarily attended for that purpose. The Communist youth will be able to pursue their full Communist activities through the ranks of the Communist Party, just as any other youth would do through any other political party, without necessarily leaving the youth organization, just as they would not leave their trade union, et cetera.

Mr. APPELL. To what Communist club were you assigned when you joined the Communist Party?

Mr. SCHEMANSKE. The Michigan Avenue Communist Club.

Mr. APPELL. What position did you hold?

Mr. SCHEMANSKE. Following a brief period of membership, I was assigned to the position of press director and also executive board member. I held this position throughout practically the entire period of my membership in the club. I was also on the West Side Section Committee of the Communist Party.

Mr. APPELL. Can you, to the best of your recollection, describe the organizational setup of the Michigan Communist Party in Detroit's west side area during your period of membership?

Mr. SCHEMANSKE. This would cover an approximate 7-year period, during which time many organizational changes were experienced within the Michigan Communist Party as well as the west side area. These changes were based on the overall program of the Communist Party, local and national.

Prior to the dissolution of the Communist Party and formation of the Communist Political Association, activities of the Communist Party in Detroit's west side area were directed through the west side

Communist Party headquarters, then located at 5434 Michigan Avenue, Detroit. To the best of my recollection, Communist Party sections then represented in this area were section 3, which had under its jurisdiction the following: Local 157, Cadillac, Ternstedt, and Steel Branches of the Communist Party; section 8, composed of the Michigan Avenue, Delray, Warren Avenue, Lithuanian, and Dearborn branches; and section 10, composed of the Communist Party shop branches within the Rouge, Willow Run, Lincoln, and Highland Park plants of the Ford Motor Co.

Shortly prior to the formation of the Communist Political Association, the west side section headquarters of the Communist Party were moved to 5642 Michigan Avenue, Detroit, where it remained the center of Communist Party activity for approximately 6 years, being vacated in June of 1950. Extent of activities of the various Communist Party sections in the west side area during their period of operations was centered toward extending the program of the Communist Party in the section's field of concentration, namely industry, community, mass organizations, and the language group field.

Mr. APPELL. Who were the officers and leaders of the Michigan Avenue Club in 1944?

Mr. SCHEMANSKE. During my period of membership in the Michigan Avenue Club and west side section of the Michigan Communist Party in the section's field of concentration, namely industry, community, resulted in change and transfer of membership and leadership. During the period of 1944 I recall the following persons as being active in leadership of the Michigan Avenue Communist Club: John Hell, president; Ray Blossom, executive secretary; Ruben Mardiros, membership director; myself, press director; Clement Dalton, legislative director; Olga Zenchuk, recording secretary; and Jack Lawson, treasurer.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Schemanske, you had identified as one of the officers of the Michigan Avenue Club of the Communist Party Jack Lawson as treasurer. Is his given name John J. Lawson?

Mr. SCHEMANSKE. It is.

Mr. APPELL. In 1944 the Communist Party dissolved and the Communist Political Association was formed. Will you briefly outline how this change was effective in Michigan?

Mr. SCHEMANSKE. In Michigan this change took place in May of 1944 at the State convention of the Michigan Communist Party held at 2705 Joy Road, Detroit. Delegates were told that a new policy was to be adopted by the party for the party's cooperation with all progressive movements during this time, as long as these movements were in favor of the defeat of fascism. At the convention Arnold Johnson, who at that time was State secretary of the Communist Party of Ohio, presented an analysis of this policy. He stated that although the Communist Party was dissolving as a political party, the Marxist-Leninist theory of dialectical materialism would never be dissolved, but would be applied in a manner suited to the conditions demanding at that time. Shortly after this time the Communist Party in the State of Michigan was dissolved. The Communist Political Association was established. Upon its being established, those who were members of the Communist Party organization had their membership transferred to the Communist Political Association. Two other con-

vention sessions followed, one held approximately 1 week later and another the first week in June of 1944, which dissolved the Michigan Communist Party and ratified the proceedings of the national Communist Party convention.

MR. APPELL. After the Communist Party was dissolved, what political changes were made in the State of Michigan?

MR. SCHEMANSKE. Following the dissolution of the Michigan Communist Party and the formation of the Michigan Communist Political Association, an all-out program of peaceful coexistence with capitalism was established. The party program of socialism was abandoned and everything was directed toward the achievement of the new progressive coalition between labor and capital. During this period, the party fully supported the draft program, increased production, and vigorously supported the no-strike pledge and urged that it be continued in the postwar period. Communist shop clubs were dissolved and their membership integrated into large Communist Political Association community clubs. Age limit of membership was lowered to 18. A program was immediately launched for membership recruiting which resulted in membership ranging as high as two to three hundred in a respective club. The program of the Communist Political Association and the American Youth for Democracy was geared for full support of the war effort, the Teheran Conference and defense of the Soviet Union. The following persons were elected to leadership of the Communist Political Association upon conclusion of the June 1944 State convention, which dissolved the Communist Party and formed the Michigan Communist Political Association: Pat Toohey, president; George Hochberg, treasurer; Ann Beiswenger, secretary; Nat Ganley; Audrey Moore; William McKie; and Jerry Boyd, vice presidents.

To the best of my recollection, persons elected to the State committee of the Michigan Communist Political Association were Pat Toohey, Nat Ganley, Ann Beisweinger, Dave White, George Hochberg, Fred Williams, William McKie, Jerry Boyd, Byron Edwards, Fred Fine, John Little, Mary Maraniss, Tom Dombrowski, Fay McDonald, Art Braunlich, James Anderson, Harry Fainaru, Verne Piazza, William Fletcher, Paul Endicott, Mabel Lee Smith, Stanley Adamske, and Eric Dearnley.

MR. APPELL. Mr. Schemanske, you have identified Dave White as one or as a member of the State committee of the Michigan Communist Political Association. Do you know whether or not Dave White is now deceased?

MR. SCHEMANSKE. He is.

MR. APPELL. Mr. Schemanske, in listing the vice presidents of the Michigan Communist Political Association you have set forth four names. During the committee's investigation it was determined that during the days of the Communist Political Association there were at least five vice presidents and that among the vice presidents was Harold Rosen. Did you know Harold Rosen to be a vice president of the Michigan Communist Political Association?

MR. SCHEMANSKE. I do not recall whether or not Harold Rosen was a vice president of the Michigan Communist Political Association.

MR. APPELL. Do you have any recollections of Harold Rosen as a member of the Communist Party, either prior to or following the days of the Communist Political Association?

Mr. SCHEMANSKE. No, I do not. I can't state that Harold Rosen to my knowledge was a member of the Communist Party. I might have seen Rosen participating at certain party meetings, but at present I do not recall his party activity, present or past.

Mr. APPELL. One of the members of the State committee of the Michigan Communist Political Association identified by you is Verne Piazza. Do you know Verne Piazza's occupational background?

Mr. SCHEMANSKE. I recall his occupational background as being that of a dentist.

Mr. APPELL. Did you know Verne Piazza as a member of the Communist Party in addition to being a member of the Communist Political Association?

Mr. SCHEMANSKE. I have seen Verne Piazza at numerous party meetings.

Mr. APPELL. Another member of the State committee of the Communist Political Association that you identified was Harry Fainaru. Are you acquainted with the occupational background of Harry Fainaru?

Mr. SCHEMANSKE. It was my understanding that Harry Fainaru was the editor of the Rumanian press. That was the Rumanul American.

Mr. APPELL. Is that a Rumanian language newspaper?

Mr. SCHEMANSKE. Yes.

Mr. APPELL. How long was the Communist Political Association in progress?

Mr. SCHEMANSKE. From approximately June 1944 to the reconstitution of the Communist Party in August of 1945.

Mr. APPELL. Will you tell in your own words what were the events leading up to the reconstitution of the Communist Party in this district?

Mr. SCHEMANSKE. I remember attending a district membership meeting of the Michigan Communist Political Association in the early part of June 1945, held at Schiller Hall, which is located on the corner of Gratiot and St. Aubin, Detroit. This meeting was called for the purpose of clarifying the then recent Duclos article which had appeared in the May edition of the Daily Worker, relative to the dissolution of the Communist Party in the United States. At the meeting, Pat Toohey, then chairman of the Communist Political Association in Michigan, was replaced by Carl Winter, who had been assigned by the national office to replace Toohey as head of the Communist Party in the State of Michigan. Carl Winter gave a report at the meeting analyzing the Duclos article which attacked the policy of Earl Browder relative to the dissolution of the Communist Party and the formation of the Communist Political Association. In analyzing the article, Winter was neither pro nor con, and urged that no discussions be raised or conclusions drawn among the membership until such time as a statement was issued by the national committee of the Communist Political Association regarding a change of program. He stated that the statement or resolution of the national board would be submitted as a draft for discussion and action with the national committee.

Subsequent to the above meeting, a special State convention of the Michigan Communist Political Association took place in July of 1945 at the Civil Center, located at Erskine and John R Streets, Detroit. We

were told that the purpose of the convention was to act on the draft resolution of the national committee to elect three delegates to a special national convention to be held in New York City the latter part of July 1945. Following the election of a resolutions committee, Carl Winter presented his report to the convention. Among some of the points which I recall his speaking of was the need for the party to once again regain its role as the Marxist vanguard party of the American working class, to change the name of the organization back to the Communist Party, to carry out a proposed program of education to be initiated within the Communist Party organization with reference to the basic teachings of Marxism and Leninism, and the need for consistent self-criticism on the part of party leadership for deviating from the Marxist-Leninist principle. The convention elected Carl Winter, Nat Ganley, and Bob Washington as delegates to the national convention.

The concluding session of this convention was held in August 1945, subsequent to the national convention, at the civic center. The proceedings of the national convention were ratified and the Communist Party was reconstituted, based on the principles of Marxism and Leninism.

Mr. APPELL. Did you continue as a member of the Michigan Avenue Club?

Mr. SCHEMANSKE. Yes.

Mr. APPELL. What became the objectives of the Michigan Avenue Club at that time?

Mr. SCHEMANSKE. The immediate plan of action adopted by this club at that particular time was: (1) Reconstruction or reorganization of their entire organization, as proposed in the program and constitution adopted at the mentioned National and State conventions of the Communist Party, during which the Communist Political Association was dissolved; (2) shop branches reorganized as a basic form of Communist organization; (3) immediate program of action to involve and activize every member of the former Communist Political Association into the reconstituted Communist Party.

No definite plans were made to organize a national recruiting drive at that time. The national board of the Communist Party proposed instead the reconstruction or reorganization of their entire membership, due to the so-called infected revisionist policy, as adopted by their organization under the leadership of Earl Browder.

At a Communist Party meeting held in February of 1946, Carl Winter, State chairman of the Communist Party, pointed the necessity of again forming shop clubs, and stated that the dissolution of Communist shop branches during the Communist Political Association period had seriously weakened the party's role in industry. He stated that with the reconstitution of the Communist Party and formation of shop clubs, it would be necessary to conduct an educational campaign within the party to develop leadership in keeping with the historical tasks of the Communist Party. The main purpose of this educational program would be to transform the present membership into active Communists who understood party policies and tasks and who were ready to assume responsibility in carrying out these policies and tasks. Winter further referred to the reorganizational stage of the party in Michigan and stated that progress was being made in the organization of shop clubs. He mentioned that at that time, Com-

unist shop clubs had been organized in General Motors, Packard, Ford, Plymouth, Local 155, and Bohn Aluminum. He reported that concentration on Communist Party shop clubs in Chrysler, Packing, Steel, Leather, and Timken Axle was the next party organizational step planned by the Michigan Communist Party leadership.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Schemanske, you have just referred to a meeting of the Communist Party which was held in February of 1946 at which Carl Winter pointed out the necessity of again forming shop clubs. Winter did not mean to state that no organizational structure in Michigan had been set up on a shop club level, but only that all of the shop clubs had not been set up at that time?

Mr. SCHEMANSKE. Correct, in other words, General Motors, Packard, and Ford, were already set up.

Mr. APPELL. Immediately with the end of the Communist Political Association those you set forth set up their shop clubs.

Mr. SCHEMANSKE. That is right.

Mr. APPELL. Was there a directive earlier than Carl Winter's speech of February of 1946?

Mr. SCHEMANSKE. Yes, there was.

John Williamson, in his article in Political Affairs of September 1945, dealt with the reactivation of shop units and said as follows:

The present Communist shop branches will not be patterned after the former Communist Party shop branches. The community clubs shall remain the major and important form of the organization. Present plans are to set up shop branches only in the major industries and involve their trade-union members active in these plans. Communist Party members who are at present active in trade unions and do not find time to function or attend their community club meetings will be transferred into shop branches. Each club will review its membership and transfer these members who, in their opinion, should be placed in the shop branch category. This will be done with the aid and assistance of the district shop branch committee, which has already been set up and will organize and control the shop branch State organization.

The chairman reported that the district plans at the present time to set up shop branches in Ford, Chrysler, and rubber. Shop branches of each respective industry will not be concentrated into one section as was previously done prior to the dissolution of these branches, but will be centered around community clubs. Eliminated also will be the building unit setup which previously existed in the Ford section. The party's aim is not to function independently within the industry. Their shop branches are set up. Previous experiences in shop branch organization where Communist-held caucuses experienced bitter factional fight and among its own ranks produced trade-union opportunists or pork choppers according to the new shop branch setup is going to be eliminated. The party directive to its trade-union members is to work directly with their local union on all problems dealing with or pertaining to their work within the shop they are employed. The party will merely offer guidance to its shop branch membership as to the correct policies carrying out its program. This they intend to do by calling plantwide meetings of their membership within the respective industries.

Mr. APPELL. In other words, it appears to the committee, Mr. Schemanske, that Carl Winter, in his speech of February 1946, was taking the emphasis off of the community clubs as Williamson placed it, in Political Affairs, September 1945, and Carl Winter was now placing the emphasis upon the shop club, with the community club an incidental organizational function. Do you agree with this?

Mr. SCHEMANSKE. Then the policy and program of the Communist Party, the main concentration, was industrial concentration, I would say.

Mr. CLARDY. That is the way it appears to us, also.

Mr. SCHEMANSKE. That is right.

Mr. APPELL. Did the Michigan Avenue Club work with the Ford section of the Communist Party?

Mr. SCHEMANSKE. Yes. In fact, we shared the same headquarters at 5642 Michigan Avenue. The activities of our club as well as other Communist clubs located in the west side, Dearborn, and downriver areas were directed toward Ford concentration.

Mr. APPELL. What events led up to the assignment of the Michigan Avenue as well as other Communist clubs to Ford concentration?

Mr. SCHEMANSKE. This was a decision handed down by the national and State offices of the Communist Party, which designated Ford as the key Communist industrial concentration center.

Mr. APPELL. Have you any directives issued by the Communist Party dealing with Ford concentration?

Mr. SCHEMANSKE. Yes. In this respect I would like to introduce the following exhibits, which in part outline the Communist program in Ford.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Chairman, I would like to offer as Schemanske exhibit No. 1 a mimeographed publication of the Communist Party entitled "Resolution on Concentration for Discussion at All Clubs, Sections, Commissions, and Departments."

Mr. CLARDY. Exhibit 1 will be received.

(Mimeographed document entitled "Resolution on Concentration for Discussion at All Clubs, Sections, Commissions, and Departments," marked "Schemanske Exhibit No. 4," was received in evidence.)

SCHEMANSKE EXHIBIT NO. 1

RESOLUTION ON CONCENTRATION FOR DISCUSSION AT ALL CLUBS, SECTIONS, COMMISSIONS AND DEPARTMENTS

Our party in Michigan has a great responsibility to move the auto workers into struggle against their exploiters—the auto barons and their stooges in Government. The auto monopolists are a key section of American imperialism, which seeks political and economic domination of the world, and the crushing of the people's democracies and the Soviet Union through a predatory war.

To carry through these objectives in the face of a rapidly developing economic crisis—deepened by the Marshall plan and the reactionary foreign policy—the bourgeoisie of our country, more and more travels along the road of instituting one fascist measure after another.

An aroused, conscious working-class and trade-union movement, can rally the rest of the population to defeat the drive to hunger, war, and fascism. The bourgeoisie concentrates its efforts on weakening the labor movement. It strikes out in the first place against the Communist Party seeking to behead and paralyze labor's will to struggle.

Never before has there been such a direct, ideological offensive on the part of the bourgeoisie to convince the American worker that his interests and the interests of the billionaire finance capitalists are identical. They are attempting to sell their imperialist program as a just, noble, and necessary mission of America which will benefit the workers. This propaganda barrage exalts the free enterprise system, as the finest, though not perfect, development of mankind. In contrast, socialism is presented by them as a horrible prison camp, which at its best, is never equal to American capitalism with all its weaknesses.

The main instrument in their ideological campaign to divide the labor movement and corrupt sections of the white working class, is their attempt to intoxicate the American workers with attitudes of Anglo-Saxon chauvinist nationalism. White chauvinism has merged with and become the spearhead of the preparation and organization of fascist violence against labor and the people. They are moving every propaganda medium, spending millions to try to convince the American workers that the Communists are foreign agents who are trying to provoke chaos and disorder, to destroy democratic rights, etc.

To facilitate this ideological offensive from the outside, Social Democrats, Trotskyites, labor reformists carry on simultaneously a supporting ideological offensive within the labor movement. Lenin, long ago, pointed out the role of the Social Democrats as agents of the bourgeoisie within the ranks of the labor movement. They are the bribed section of the labor movement who sacrifice the interests of the immense majority for a minority of the labor movement. They receive the praise, buildup, and support of the bourgeoisie in order to enhance their role.

The American bourgeoisie knows that tremendous rank-and-file movements can break through and move even a social democratic leadership. Therefore, they carry through simultaneously more direct attacks. These take the following forms:

1. Promoting divisions within the labor movement, particularly along racial lines (Negro versus white), through a carefully executed policy of throwing Negroes out of industry and refusing to upgrade Negroes and refusing to hire Negroes.
2. Attempting to separate the militant leadership from the trade-union movement through the Taft-Hartley law, deportations, penalties within the shop of militant committeemen, etc.
3. Direct attacks, such as fines, injunctions, protection of scabs.
4. Softening up through reduction in size, of committeemen, umpire system, no-strike clauses in contract, company security clauses, etc.

Yet the bourgeoisie, assisted by the Social Democrats, have not been able to stampede millions of workers into hysterical mass support for their program of hunger, war, and fascism. Every experience has indicated that, where workers are given the proper leadership, the will to struggle breaks through and tremendous rank-and-file movements develop despite the efforts of the Social Democratic leadership.

The concentration work of the party must result in real and substantial contributions by the party to the fight for—

1. The people's livelihood, including the defense of the union.
2. People's liberty, above all, the case of the 12 and the fight for Negro rights, plus mass reactions to each attack on the liberties of the people.
3. People's peace, above all, a mass campaign against military appropriation to supplement the North Atlantic military alliance, for friendship with the Soviet Union, and for the opening of trade channels with the people's democracies, China and the Soviet Union.
4. People's democratic advancement, especially in terms of cementing the alliance of the labor movement with the Negro people's liberation struggle.

Our objectives, stated broadly then, in our concentration work can be generalized as follows:

1. To stimulate the broadest united front actions of employed and unemployed auto workers, especially in the plant and local union levels, to break through the deadlocked bargaining on the 1949 economic and contract demands and to make the trusts pay for the unfolding economic crisis.
2. To strengthen the leading role of the working class in the democratic people's coalition by moving the auto workers into decisive and leading action on the political problems facing the American people, the struggle against hunger, war, and fascism.
3. To heighten the unity of Negro and white workers through resolute campaigns for Negro rights, accompanied by mass education and struggle against white chauvinism.
4. To lead widespread rank-and-file movements in the plants and departments on the economic issues facing the workers.
5. To help build, broaden, and unify a coalition of progressive forces in each department and shop and local, welded into a stable regional and national organization which will function on an all-year-round basis.
6. To expose the demagogery of and isolate the Social Democrats and reformist labor leaders. To defeat the Trotskyites in their despicable role as provocateurs and splitters of the progressive coalition.
7. To deepen the understanding of the workers in the struggle against imperialism, for socialism.
8. To decisively strengthen and build the Communist Party and raise its ideological level as the vanguard of the working class.

Our State committee has just reviewed 9 months of concentration work by our party since the last State convention. In that time our party has increased its attention to the problems of the auto workers. The face of our party has been presented to the auto workers to a greater degree than in the past 10 years. We have seen the development of economic struggles, dramatized in the Ford strike against speedup, despite the stifling attempts of Reuther. A beginning has been made in the development of the united front from below.

This period of time has seen the consolidation of some party shop clubs, an improvement in the sale of party literature, a greater utilization of the Michigan Worker as the major instrument for the concentration work. Among our comrades in auto there is higher morale and greater confidence in the determination of the State leadership of the party to decisively influence the auto workers.

This resolution, based on the discussion of the State committee and the experiences in the past 9 months, will attempt to present some of the major problems necessary to be overcome in charting the next steps.

FOR A DRASIC IMPROVEMENT IN THE WORK AMONG GENERAL MOTORS WORKERS

This is a precondition for further advancement in auto. GM employs 350,000 auto workers of the 1 million within the UAW. Saginaw Valley, comprising Flint, Pontiac, and Saginaw, is the heart of the GM empire, with 150,000 auto workers. The city of Flint has some 56,000 GM workers. Flint is the key to moving the GM division of the UAW, the division which Reuther heads and therefore the key to striking a powerful blow against social democracy. Whatever develops in Flint has great influence on the entire UAW.

The UAW convention exposed the weakness of our party's industrial concentration method of work in auto. The anti-Reuther forces did not have a majority base in any one of the auto's Big Three. Where party work was on a relatively higher level as in Ford, the anti-Reuther strength was greatest. In GM our main national concentration sector, the progressives were weakest of all. Flint and Pontiac, with strong anti-Reuther forces in the past, were Reuther strongholds in this convention despite the mass dissatisfaction of the GM workers with wage cuts, increased speedup, phony umpires, and frozen contracts. It's therefore clear that we need a drastic improvement in our work in auto, in the first place in our work in GM, without in any way curtailing our work in Ford which remains our main concentration point in Michigan's Wayne County.

Our leadership must face this problem and map out comprehensive proposals for continuous assistance and attention to this, the No. 1 concentration on a State scale.

FOR AN IDEOLOGICAL CAMPAIGN ON THE ROLE OF THE WORKING CLASS AS THE PRE-REQUISITE FOR WINNING THE ENTIRE PARTY AND PROGRESSIVE MOVEMENT FOR CONCENTRATION WORK

Experience in the last 9 months has revealed that the mobilization of the entire party in Wayne County to carry through the concentration objectives around the Wayne County concentration on Ford is totally inadequate. We have failed to carry through a consistent, widespread ideological campaign within our party as the basic prerequisite for concrete organizational steps to bring about a situation in which concentrated activity among auto workers, and particularly Ford, will be the basic method of work of the entire party. Such an ideological campaign is necessary to take our concentration work out of the realm of another task. Gus Hall, in his article in April's Political Affairs, expresses our tasks in this regard appropriately:

"As a result of our experience, it is now clear that industrial concentration cannot be viewed as a task; it is not an assignment that you give to one section of the party. Industrial concentration is a basic Leninist method of work for the whole party. Industrial concentration means giving life to some basic Leninist concepts of a Marxist party. It gives life to the Leninist concept of the Communist Party as the vanguard of the working class. It gives meaning to the whole idea that ours is a working-class party. It gives life to the concept that we must take hold of the main link, the link that will move everything else at the given moment.

"Industrial concentration gives content to the Leninist concept of the hegemony of the proletariat in all phases and stages of the struggle. If we agree with Lenin that 'only a class like the proletariat could rally around itself all the forces discontented with capitalism,' then we must show that agreement by

applying the method of industrial concentration in leading and winning the proletariat. * * *

"One cannot speak seriously about replacing capitalism by socialism unless the decisive role the working class must perform in this transformation is fully grasped.

"No movement, organization, or coalition dedicated to human progress can succeed today unless the working class is an integral part—in fact, the most decisive part—of such a movement.

"The working class will not play this decisive role automatically. It must be organized; it must be made conscious of being a class in struggle with the capitalist class; it must be infused with political consciousness; it must be taught how to unravel the hidden forms of slavery and exploitation; it must be guided along the road to victory over its class foe. Marxism-Leninism is the key to accomplishing all these tasks. We must use this key by concentrated attention to this all-important and decisive section of the population.

"Industrial concentration is the basic method and approach toward everything we do. Issues and tactics will change, but the role of the working class in general and of the workers in basic industry in particular is a constant, permanent element in all industrial concentration plans or objectives. Industrial concentration is the method of work of the party of a new type. * * *

"Finally, industrial concentration is not a seasonal occupation. It is not a method of work that we will use only for a period of time. It is a permanent method of work."

It is necessary to restate once again why Ford is the major concentration of Wayne County. Local 600 is the largest industrial unit in the world. The entire labor movement watches local 600 as a barometer indicating trends in the course and policies of American labor. Local 600 has been and still remains the biggest bulwark against the domination of the labor movement by the Social Democratic leadership and policies of the UAW.

Local 600 has the largest concentration of Negro workers in America, the foundry alone employing some 6,000 Negro workers. The plant is located in the 16th Congressional District, the largest working-class district in the United States, populated by many national groups. This district alone has three heavily populated Negro communities, Inkster, Ecorse, and River Rouge. The Rouge, with its 60,000 industrial workers, the heavy concentrated population of foreign born, and the strong progressive Negro communities, all combine to make Ford the greatest potential force for peace, democracy, and socialism in Wayne County.

Such an understanding flowing from the ideological campaign would help to reorient every aspect of party work and party organization toward the central objectives of reaching, influencing, and winning the workers in auto. It would insure that auto would become the knowledge, concern, and everyday activity of all leaders and organizations of our party on all levels. It would assist all clubs of the party to undertake specific responsibility with regard to the main concentration of Wayne County, Ford, and to the miscellaneous auto section. Clubs would strive to recruit shop workers, with the aim of changing the composition of many community and nationality clubs to embrace a majority of auto workers and their families.

Many comrades would be encouraged to volunteer to change their jobs to seek employment in large auto plants. Hundreds of additional comrades would be reenrolled in an ever-growing brigade to go out early in the morning, in the afternoon, and late evenings to sell the Michigan Worker, party literature, or distribute leaflets at shops and in communities where auto workers work and live to organize and influence the wives and children of auto workers through activities in the communities. In short, the activities of every club, section, department, commission, progressive mass organization would be directed toward helping in every way to achieve our objectives of auto concentration. No club or group of our party can grow and develop if its plans, perspective, and activity are not constantly related to reaching, influencing, and recruiting auto workers.

FOR A STRUGGLE AGAINST STRONG TENDENCIES OF ECONOMISM WHICH ENDANGERS OUR WORK IN THE TRADE-UNION MOVEMENT

The key link to accomplishing our objectives in auto concentration is a forthright recognition of the need to struggle against and overcome strong tendencies of economism which have weakened our activity. This is a deep-rooted problem of long duration which has plagued us for many years. The recent period has

not been distinguished by a vigilant struggle against it. Too much of our party work and activity is confined to narrow trade-union issues.

It reveals itself most sharply in the neglect and underestimation of the party organization, unstable status of the shop clubs of our party, and the alarmingly low rate of recruitment of auto workers into the party. Further evidence is our failure to fully utilize the major instruments of the party for mass education and our acceptance of low standards of performance as our accepted norm. Our work is characterized by a continuous hesitation to undertake energetic action to move the workers into struggle on any questions outside of the immediate practical trade-union issues, particularly the struggle for Negro rights, defense of the 12, activity in opposition to the North Atlantic Pact, etc. The sporadic activity to help build the Progressive Party, the poor attendance of auto workers at the Marxist Michigan School of Social Science, all flow from economist tendencies which pervades our organization. One has but to analyze the subjects of discussion at the club meetings in the past months to realize that political education, which would lead to action on the major political questions of the day, is not always the predominant feature of our meetings. All this requires an intense ideological campaign against economism through systematic study and discussion of Lenin's *What Is To Be Done?*

Unless the State board and State committee helps raise the political content and activity of our comrades in the shops, then the ability to lead workers effectively in resistance to the coming economic crisis will be most difficult. The root source of basic economic problems auto workers face (speedup, short workweek, unemployment, impending wage cuts, attacks against Negro auto workers, discrimination, etc.) is directly the result of the imperialist war program of the Wall Street monopolists and their efforts to create a Fascist United States. The auto barons and their lackeys in the labor movement are trying to put over a guns, not butter, economy. This understanding is the touchstone of everything.

The role assigned to the ACTU, Trotskyites and especially the Social Democrats, is precisely to mislead and dull the fighting resistance of the workers. The betrayal by Reuther of the recent Ford strike against speedup was the logical consequence of his unqualified support for the Truman doctrine, the Marshall plan and now the North Atlantic Military Alliance, stepping stones toward fascism and imperialist war. To justify such betrayals he has often unashamedly admitted that these "sacrifices" were necessary in order that the war program be put over.

Communist auto workers understand this. Therefore they make a key contribution to the welfare of their fellow workers when they constantly strive to help raise the level of political consciousness and understanding. Only in so doing are the guarantees created to successfully resist the attempts of the monopolists and their lackeys to place the burden of the coming economic crisis on the backs of the workers.

In this period of mounting, crucial struggles, continuing economist trends and tendencies serve only to impair the class consciousness and understanding of workers. It becomes an impediment to the full mobilization of auto workers in the struggle against hunger, war, and fascism.

The struggle against economist trends has to turn from words and talk to deeds and action. The same organizing genius and zeal for detail, the same alertness which Communist auto workers have learned in helping to organize, build, and defend their local unions, must now be reflected in organizing the fight for peace; organizing the fight for Negro rights; organizing the defense of democratic rights; organizing to bring the "case of the twelve" before their fellow workers and local unions.

In the coming months there will take place the full unfolding of the struggle of the auto workers to break through the deadlocked 1949 economic and bargaining demands and make the auto barons pay for the unfolding economic crisis. To help guarantee this fight and break the deadlock, our party projects the following main campaigns for the next 3½ months; the fight for peace, "Defense of the 12," fight against white chauvinism and for Negro rights, full participation in the municipal elections. To the extent that these questions become the concern of the auto workers and they move on them, to that extent will be their victory on the economic questions.

FOR MAKING THE MICHIGAN WORKER THE MAIN MASS IDEOLOGICAL INSTRUMENT OF CARRYING THROUGH THE CONCENTRATION OBJECTIVES OF THE PARTY

In the past 3 months the concept of the Michigan Worker as the mass ideological instrument for carrying party policy to the auto workers has slipped into the background of our practical work.

This approach, when it permeated all of the party's work for 18 months, resulted in Michigan developing what was characterized by the national leadership of the party, the best State edition with the greatest proportionate circulation. This position must be regained immediately.

The paper must be used particularly by the auto sections and clubs as an organizing instrument in their mass campaigns among the auto workers. For this purpose, special editions must be organized on a planned basis.

The content of the paper must reflect the political as well as the economic struggles of the workers, and must also serve to deepen the workers' understanding of capitalism as a system of exploitation which they must take the lead in removing in order to replace it with socialism.

The Michigan Worker must deepen the workers' class consciousness and expose the class nature of the capitalist state. But it must also show the working class how capitalism oppresses not only the workers but all sections of the population except the handful of supermagnates. The Michigan Worker must become a tribune of the people, which exposes and explains every form of exploitation and oppression, and mobilizes the people, and the working class in the first place, to resistance against the bourgeoisie. Thus will the Michigan Worker help to make the working class conscious of its vanguard role in rallying all oppressed sections of the people against capitalism.

FOR AN ALL-OUT FIGHT TO STABILIZE THE PARTY SHOP CLUB AND PARTY ORGANIZATION

Tackling and overcoming the extremely unstable, unsatisfactory political and organizational status of the party shop clubs is of first-rate importance. It is a prime responsibility of leadership in our party, to address itself to the solution of this problem—the daily struggle to realize in life the Marxist concept of our party—as the vanguard of the working class, its highest form of organization, its organized detachment.

The application of the spirit of our resolution, and the execution of our plan of work will illustrate in life, the role and function of our party. It will demonstrate the necessity of a well-organized, disciplined Communist Party, constantly being built as a result of struggle.

The State committee calls upon the entire party to complete the recruiting goals of 200 auto workers by the Dearborn and miscellaneous auto sections, and an additional 50 by the remainder of the clubs in Wayne County, as well as 20 in the Saginaw Valley.

IMPROVE THE FUNCTIONING OF THE STATE ORGANIZATION

A change in the system of leadership, and the division of labor in the State organization is necessary to move concentration work into the next higher stages. At the present moment there appears to be a contradiction between daily leadership to the concentration tasks of our party, and the everyday campaigns and mobilizations of our party. The tremendous administrative work, the necessity for attention to outstate which comprises one-third of the membership, the problems involved in giving leadership to mass organizations, and the fact that there are only two people directly in the State office, prevent full attention to winning the sections in Wayne County to the concentration work. These problems likewise prevent consistent political assistance to the sections in Wayne County, making for "fire-brigade" methods of work, and lack of close political guidance.

It is proposed, therefore, that three comrades shall work out of the State office, including the district organizer. The responsibility of one of the comrades shall be active, daily, leadership to the sections and clubs in Wayne County. A Wayne County committee shall be established under the leadership of a county secretary. This shall not be a body which replaced the prime responsibility of the State board for Wayne County. Neither shall a duplicate apparatus to the State apparatus be established.

Our State committee calls upon all clubs, sections, departments, commissions, Communists in mass organizations, to organize the widespread discussion of this resolution as well as the plan of work accompanying it. The objective is to create within our party the fullest discussion, and opportunity for creative thinking, suggestions, criticism and self-criticism—all leading, of course, to the working out of concrete plans for reorientating the work of all levels of our party toward the auto workers, and the accomplishment of our plan of work.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Chairman, I would like to offer as Schemanske exhibit No. 2 a mimeographed outline entitled "Plan of Work, Dearborn Auto Section, from July 15 to November 1."

Mr. CLARDY. Exhibit 2 will be received.

(The mimeographed document entitled, "Plan of Work, Dearborn Auto Section," marked Schemanske exhibit No. 2 was received in evidence.)

(SCHEMANSKE EXHIBIT NO. 2)

PLAN OF WORK DEARBORN AUTO SECTION FROM JULY 15 TO NOVEMBER 1, 1949

INTRODUCTION

Our plan of work has the following main objectives: (a) To strengthen the leading role of the working class in the democratic people's coalition, by moving the Rouge workers into decisive and leading action on the major political problems facing the American people, the struggle again war and fascism;

(b) To heighten the unity of Negro and white workers through resolute campaigns for Negro rights, accompanied by mass education and struggle against white chauvinism;

(c) To stimulate widespread rank and file movements in the plants and departments of the economic issues facing the workers;

(d) To expose the demagogery of, and isolate the Social Democrats and reformist labor leaders;

(e) To deepen the understanding of the workers in the struggle against imperialism for socialism;

(f) To decisively strengthen and build the Communist Party, as the vanguard of the working class.

These main objectives call for above all, a qualitative improvement in the work of our party. The key link in the accomplishment of our general objectives, is a forthright recognition of the deep-rooted economism which characterizes our activities and methods of work, thereby confining the scope of party work to activity on narrow trade union issues, and preventing the full mobilization of the militant Rouge workers into the struggle against war and fascism. The plan of work, therefore, will reflect this *emphasis* and *reorientation* for the Communists in the Rouge.

IMPROVE THE IDEOLOGICAL WORK

In the next 3½ months, in order to carry out the objectives listed in the introduction of our plan work, it will be necessary to concentrate our ideological work on the following 6 questions: 1. Economism. 2. Party. 3. The Negro People's Liberation Movement. 4. The Struggle for Peace. 5. Social Democracy. 6. Socialism.

Following are the forms of execution:

1. Club meetings—The major time at club meetings will be spent on political education, based on assigned self-study, with the aim of organizing action, flowing from the discussions at club meetings.

2. Literature—Our concrete objectives are: (a) 100 political affairs per month. (b) Sale of basic literature to accompany club discussions. (c) Sale of 100 special \$1 edition of Harry Haywood's "Negro Liberation." (d) 500 of Foster's "Twilight of American Capitalism, 3 per member. (e) Average 2,500 sale of all party mass pamphlets.

3. Schools and classes—(a) 50 students to the fall term of the Workers School. (b) One training school of Dearborn section. (c) Ford members to be sent to all schools. (d) System of new members classes.

4. Mass forms—(a) Issuance of weekly Bill McKie newsletter. (b) Issuance of weekly Nelson Davis newsletter. (c) Monthly Dearborn Auto Section

Forum, sponsored by Worker. (d) Monthly mailing from section to 450 top and secondary union leaders. (e) Periodic Communist Party leaflets, at least 50,000 per month. (f) Continuous letters to Ford Facts, particularly in answer to the numerous attacks on the party and party policy.

5. Community activity.—Communists in the Rouge shall be obligated to carry on community activity, particularly in the 16th Congressional District, helping to build the Progressive Party, Civil Rights Congress, NAACP, etc.

CONCENTRATION CAMPAIGNS FOR OUR PARTY

In its drive to war and fascism, the bourgeoisie uses as its twin weapons, anti-communism and anti-Negroism, just as Hitler used anti-communism and anti-Semitism. It is therefore incumbent on our party, at all times to connect the defense of the 12 and the struggle for Negro rights with all activity. It is proposed that we give primary emphasis to:

(A) Defense of the 12.—Already four leaders of our party have been jailed during the course of the trial, in the attempt to illegalize the party. A totally inadequate campaign has been organized at the Rouge. The following is suggested:

1. Organization of a Ford workers committee for release of the 12.
2. This committee to sponsor radio time, leaflets, letters to Ford Facts, telegram campaign.
3. Building delegations to be sent to New York to see Medina.
4. Speakers before building meetings.
5. Mass meeting to be organized in Dearborn.
6. Gigantic banquet in honor of Bill McKie.

(B) Struggle for Negro rights.—The pressing, immediate issue is the almost complete exclusion of Negroes from amongst the thousands hired in the Rouge since the strike ended. Starting with this campaign for jobs for Negroes will follow issues such as upgrading, contract protection, Jim Crow in Dearborn, promotion to all levels of leadership in the union, special demands for foundry workers, police brutality, Ingram case, etc. The following is suggested to get started:

1. Resolutions in all building, executive, and membership meetings, to be forwarded to local executive board by delegations.
2. Leaflets in all buildings to be signed by masses of Negro and white workers.
3. Lunch-time demonstrations in front of labor relations.
4. Letters to Ford Facts.
5. Building demonstrations in front of hiring offices.

ROLE OF COMMUNISTS IN THE PROGRESSIVE COALITION

Individual Communists are expected to show the greatest personal responsibility in helping to build and strengthen the Progressive coalition, on a local wide scale, as well as in the buildings. The coalition must develop beyond a temporary electoral combination, into a permanent and stable organization, functioning on an all-year-round basis, reacting to issues, putting out material, holding meetings, organizing activity on the issues facing the Ford workers. At the present time, for instance, the coalition must emerge with a resolute campaign to end the speedup, and to end the secret negotiations which can only lead to a sellout similar to the strike "arbitration." The coalition must come forward as the champions of the needs of the Ford workers along the lines of the program they advanced for contract negotiations during the local elections. Individual Communists must ever seek, in a patient and friendly way, to raise the level of understanding of the Progressives, seeking to involve them programmatically and individually in higher forms of struggle against the North Atlantic Pact, against the illegalization of the Communist Party, and the dismissal of the indictments against the Communist Party leaders, friendship and trade with the Soviet Union and the European Democracies, struggle for Negro rights, etc.

CONSISTENT EXPANSION OF MICHIGAN WORKER

It has been amply illustrated during the speedup campaign, that the Michigan Worker is the principal organizing instrument of our party, if properly co-ordinated with the work of our party, capable of setting tens of thousands of Rouge workers into motion. It will be necessary therefore in the next 3½

months, to prepare at least 2 special editions of the Michigan Worker, around the two concentration campaigns of the party. Concrete objectives are:

(a) 2,000 copies of special editions (with assistance of State press department).

(b) Secure renewal of all expiring subscriptions.

(c) Secure 300 additional subscriptions.

(d) Organize weekly bundle sale of 300.

BUILD AND STRENGTHEN THE PARTY

The execution of the plan of work will illustrate in life the roll and function of our party. It will demonstrate the necessity of a well-organized, disciplined Communist Party, constantly being built as a result of struggle. We set three major objectives:

(a) A successful struggle for weekly club meetings, and activization of all members.

(b) Recruiting 82 members into the party, reaching the goal of 100 recruits.

(c) Section concentration to establish foundry clubs as model clubs of section.

LAUNCHING THE PLAN

Discussions to be held in section committee. Discussion to be held at section councils. Discussion to be held at all club meetings.

CHECKUP AND CONTROL

Section committee responsible for plan of work. Personal responsibility assigned to various sections of the plan. Special conference listed in calendar of events to check on plan and map out next steps.

CALENDAR OF EVENTS

July 4.—Worker picnic.

July 16.—Section forum on UAW convention with George Morris.

July 29.—Special edition of the Worker on discrimination. (Date of other special edition to be set.)

August 15-30.—Section school.

August 28.—Section forum on Foster's "Twilight of American Capitalism."

September 5.—Section midway checkup conference.

September 12.—Bill McKie banquet.

October 7.—Section forum.

Date of women's meeting to be set by club.

Mr. APPELL. Do you know what year the July 15 to November 1 is referring?

Mr. SCHEMANSKE. I believe it is the year of 1949.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Schemanske, do you know when this publication of the Communist Party was prepared and distributed?

Mr. SCHEMANSKE. To the best of my knowledge it was in the latter part of 1949.

Mr. APPELL. Did you hold membership in any union?

Mr. SCHEMANSKE. No.

Mr. APPELL. Were your activities within the Communist Party directed toward Ford concentration?

Mr. SCHEMANSKE. Yes. On numerous occasions we were invited to participate in meetings and discussions of the Ford section, also to assist them in various activities, such as distribution of Communist literature at Ford, sale of Communist press, et cetera.

Mr. APPELL. Are you acquainted with the Progressive caucus at Ford?

Mr. SCHEMANSKE. Yes.

Mr. APPELL. Do you know the part played by the Communist Party within the Progressive caucus?

Mr. SCHEMANSKE. Yes. The Progressive caucus within Ford Local 600 was used as the medium or front by the Ford section of the Communist Party to extend their program of activity within the Ford Rouge plant and Ford Local 600.

Mr. APPELL. Do you know the part played by the Communist Party within the Progressive caucus?

Mr. SCHEMANSKE. In this respect I would like to refer to the party's own publications which are reflected in the exhibit I have just submitted, relative to the role of the Communists in the Progressive coalition, which states:

Individual Communists are expected to show the greatest personal responsibility in helping to build and strengthen the Progressive coalition on a localwide scale as well as in the buildings. The coalition must develop beyond a temporary electoral combination into a permanent and stable organization, functioning on an all-year-round basis, reacting to issues, putting out material, holding meetings, organizing activity on the issues facing the Ford workers. At the present time, for instance, the coalition must emerge with a resolute campaign to end the speedup and to end the secret negotiations which can only lead to a sellout similar to the strike arbitration. The coalition must come forward as the champions of the needs of the Ford workers along the lines of the program we advanced for contract negotiations during the local elections. Individual Communists must ever seek in a patient and friendly way to raise the level of understanding of the Progressives, seeking to involve them programmatically and individually in higher forms of struggle against the North Atlantic Pact, against the illegalization of the Communist Party, and the dismissal of the indictments against the Communist Party leaders, friendship and trade with the Soviet Union and the European democracies, struggle for Negro rights, et cetera.

Mr. CLARDY. Right in line with what we have been discussing and looking at exhibit 2, that has been received in the record, I find a statement here I want to read to you and ask you a question on it. It says—

It is necessary to restate once again why Ford is the major concentration of Wayne County. Local 600 is the largest industrial unit in the world. The entire labor movement watches Local 600 as a barometer indicating trends in the course and policies of American labor. Local 600 has been and still remains the biggest bulwark against the domination of the labor union by the Socialist democratic leadership and policies of the UAW.

Then it has considerably more. I wonder, however, if you will not agree with me that what I have read to you, plus the other things that we know, doesn't indicate that the Communist Party is not interested in the labor movement or the welfare of the individual laborer as such. They are merely voicing a party line. They are merely seeking to use the labor union movement as a means to gain their own ends; that is, to establish the dictatorship of the elite within the Communist Party.

Mr. SCHEMANSKE. Correct.

Mr. CLARDY. To put it another way, while they represent to the individual members of labor unions that they are fighting for the interests of those individuals, really they are doing no such thing at all. They are merely using that means to take over.

Mr. SCHEMANSKE. To extend the program and policies of the Communist Party.

Mr. CLARDY. You agree with us then on that.

Mr. SCHEMANSKE. Yes, I do.

Mr. APPELL. In meetings of the Ford section of the Michigan Communist Party, was the selection of candidates for office of Ford Local 600 discussed?

Mr. SCHEMANSKE. Yes. Judging overall activities within the Ford section of the Communist Party, this appeared to be their main concentration, that is worming their members and supporters into as many important union positions as possible, with the objective of gaining control of Ford Local 600.

Mr. APPELL. Is the Progressive Caucus of Ford Local 600 a Communist caucus?

Mr. SCHEMANSKE. No. It never has been. But, I am sorry to say, it has been strongly influenced, and continues to be strongly influenced by Communist members from within. This is an open recognized fact within Ford Local 600.

Mr. APPELL. After your appearance as a witness for the Government, this committee observed that the Communist press referred to you as a labor spy. Did you ever receive any information regarding labor?

Mr. SCHEMANSKE. No. Only Communist activity within labor.

Mr. APPELL. What interest did you, a nonunion member, have in these affairs?

Mr. SCHEMANSKE. I had no interest. As I mentioned previously, my interest centered on Communist activity within the labor movement, especially in Ford. I would also like to add that there were other Communist members who had no interest, and in no way were associated with Ford Local 600, but who were requested by the Communist Party and the Ford section to sit and discuss what was best for the workers. In other words, the Communist Party was setting itself up to decide what was best for the workers of Ford Local 600. The Communist Party has set itself up as the vanguard of the working class, but actually they have proven themselves to be the misleaders of the labor movement and of the working class.

Mr. APPELL. As an undercover agent, did you ever make a report on the happenings within a trade union which was not in any way associated with or discussed within the Communist Party?

Mr. SCHEMANSKE. Never at any time were my activities directed at labor espionage in any way, shape or form, but centered entirely around Communist activity and infiltration within the labor movement. As a matter of fact, if I was interested in the activities of the union, I could have obtained a job which was under union jurisdiction in the Ford Rouge plant. My past and present knowledge of union activities within Ford Local 600 is equivalent to that of 100,000 other persons who read the Ford Facts, the weekly Ford Local 600 publication.

Mr. APPELL. During your period of operation, who were the leaders of the Ford section of the Communist Party?

Mr. SCHEMANSKE. For a number of years the Ford section of the Communist Party had two full-time Communist organizers, namely James Jackson and Phil Schatz. These organizers received their instructions or directives from the State committee or State board of the Communist Party, who in turn carried out instructions received from the national party office, in accordance with the line and program of the Communist Party.

Mr. APPELL. Was James Jackson a member of Ford Local 600?

Mr. SCHEMANSKE. No.

Mr. APPELL. Was Phil Schatz a member of Ford Local 600?

Mr. SCHEMANSKE. No.

Mr. APPELL. Are you acquainted with the Communist Party sending colonizers into Michigan?

Mr. SCHMANSKE. Yes. This was done in line with the party program of industrial concentration.

Mr. APPELL. Can you recall the identity of any of these colonizers?

Mr. SCHEMANSKE. Presently, I recall such known Communists as Bernie Bellinson, Martin Wellin, Al Fishman, and Al Milstein.

Mr. APPELL. Can you briefly describe the breakdown of the Michigan Communist Party based on security?

Mr. SCHEMANSKE. Security measures within the Michigan Communist Party were adopted during the middle of 1948. During this period, reorganization of the Michigan Communist Party based on security was the subject of a general discussion. During this period, Phil Schatz was meeting with the executive boards of all Communist Party clubs, requesting that they survey their membership and reorganize into small groups of not more than 6 or 8 members. He further stated that this proposed group system was considered a more effective and secretive method of operation. Moreover, he stated that this reorganization plan was not considered new, but had been used in the past when outside pressure was placed on the party.

This group system, according to Schatz, would require additional training of new cadres to assume leadership within the groups. During this reorganization, Schatz instructed Communist executive board members to destroy membership lists and records. He said group leaders should memorize names and addresses of members and keep records by a code number of first names. Mailing of meeting notices, meetings in known halls, issuance of party membership books, et cetera, were to be eliminated, according to Schatz. In the middle of 1950, the Ford section headquarters, located at 5642 Michigan Avenue, Detroit, was abandoned and its equipment, consisting of mimeograph machines, typewriters, and revolutionary literature, was stored in the homes and garages of trusted Communist members. In 1951, some of the top leadership of the Communist Party, namely Phil Schatz, Saul Wellman, Tom Dennis, and Oscar Rhodes, went into hiding, using underground tactics in carrying out Communist activities.

In the spring of 1951, the Michigan Communist Party was in the process of another reorganizational change which had been under discussion and supervision of the Michigan Communist Party State board, in accordance with decisions made by the national Communist Party office. The main purpose of this reorganization was based on security. In this respect the plan of action adopted by the Communist Party was based on a regional setup which consisted of 6 or 7 regions in Detroit, and probably 1 or 2 outstate regions. Each region was to consist of a regional director who would work with an appointed committee within his respective region. The regional directors would be responsible to the State board. In the event that the Communist Party is outlawed and the district leadership arrested, the objective was to have these regions operate autonomously. If the leadership of a region was exposed, then it would be up to the party sections within this region to operate independently. If the sections were broken up, the party clubs, which were split into small groups ranging from 3 to 5 persons, would be forced to operate on their own, which might eventually lead to only 2 Communists meeting on a

street corner or other public place for a short discussion on carrying out Communist Party directives.

It was further pointed out that in carrying out this reorganization, the Michigan Communist Party was faced with a shortage of capable and trusted leadership and would be forced to either import seasoned Communists, as in the case of Ford concentration, or train new cadres in the event the top district or regional leaders were picked up.

Mr. CLARDY. Now, Mr. Schemanske, in order to sum up and bring everything into proper focus in as short a space as we can, I wonder if you will give us a summary of the things that have come to your knowledge during the sum of the 17 years that you have been interested in this. Sum it up and give us a word picture of the extent of the Communist influence in the local and detail for us once more, without interruption, just how the Communists have operated, and how well they have succeeded.

Mr. SCHEMANSKE. With regard to my knowledge of Communist infiltration into Ford Local 600, it should be pointed out that this knowledge is based upon many years of close contact with members of the Communist Party who were active within local 600 and not upon any direct contact with or interest in activities of local 600 as such.

This knowledge has been acquired under instructions from the present management of Ford Motor Co. to keep fully advised of the Communist Party activity in their attempts to infiltrate the company organization. Present company management has continually recognized this task as a grave responsibility and duty because, (1) it would enable the company to advise duly constituted law-enforcement agencies of the activities of the Communist Party in their efforts to infiltrate industry, and (2) it enabled the company itself to identify individual Communists and learn their location within our plants, on the basis that such individuals are regarded as traitors to our country. My instructions have always been to actively investigate and secure information on the activities of the Communist Party, but not to engage in securing information on labor activity as such.

It has been a matter of common knowledge for many years and the stated policy of the Communist Party that Ford Local 600, the largest industrial unit in the world, is the key concentration point of the Communist Party with regard to industry.

For this reason, it was deemed advisable that Communists within the Rouge plant be identified and that Ford Motor Co. management be kept advised of their activities and their overall program. It was for this reason that I became affiliated with the Communist Party as I did.

Coincidentally with my submission of information to my superiors regarding Communist activities within Ford Motor, every bit of information obtained by me was made available to the local office of the FBI.

Communist and front influence within Ford Local 600 was not attained overnight, but can be attributed to a well-organized plan. Over a period of years the Communist Party was responsible for the distribution at the Ford Rouge plant of hundreds of thousands of propaganda leaflets, the assignment of full-time paid Communist organizers, and Communist penetration into key union positions in Ford Local 600. Although the status of the Communists within

local 600 has fluctuated over the past several years, they have constantly exerted an influence upon the union entirely out of proportion to their number. Through constant organized activity and political maneuvering, they were able to achieve their objectives to the point where in 1950 and 1951 local 600 was strongly influenced and controlled by the Communist Party.

During the period of the party's operation within Ford Local 600 their position varied, and the Soviet foreign policy today, as in the past, remains the barometer of their activities. As an example, World War II was propagandized as an imperialist war until the Soviet Union was attacked. It immediately became a just war, and United States Communists were the strongest defenders of the no-strike pledge. In this respect, they even went further and wrapped themselves in the cloak of patriotism, deviating from their basic principles of Marxism and Leninism, and in May of 1944 dissolved the United States Communist Party and formed the United States Communist Political Association in line with Browder's theory of revisionism, of peaceful coexistence, and cooperation with the capitalist class. This era witnessed the party's growth on a broad level. Communist Party shop clubs were dissolved in favor of large community clubs, and the objective was to recruit and function on a large united front scale.

This change in Communist Party policy resulted in mass party recruiting, and a large increase of Communist members in the Ford Rouge plant. However, as Moscow goes, so do the United States Communists, who, in line with Russia's postwar policy of aggression, again unveiled its true face at the July 26-28, 1945, convention when Browder's so-called policy of revisionism was denounced and the United States Communist Party was reconstituted, based on the true principles of Marxism and Leninism, under the leadership of William Z. Foster.

With the expulsion of Earl Browder, the United States Communist Party swung from its wartime policy of cooperation to open opposition. The fight against capitalism and the establishment of a dictatorship of the proletariat and communism was renewed.

The switch in party line resulted in a more disciplined organization and a gradual withdrawal of the majority of those members recruited during the Communist Political Association period, who in the main were not regarded as true Marxists. Communist shop clubs were again reorganized with the transfer of party shop members from the former CPA community clubs into Communist shop branches. During this period the Communist Party within Ford was weak, lacked qualified leadership, and was confronted with a right-wing Local 600, UAW, administration. As a result, another drop of approximately 75 members was experienced and Communist activities in the Ford Rouge plant were practically at a standstill.

During the latter part of 1948, the Michigan Communist Party reorganized its Ford organization and placed into leadership two leading full-time functionaries, Phil Schatz and James Jackson, who, with the support of the entire party, national and local, focused their sights on Ford as the key industrial concentration center. Reactivizing Communist clubs in Ford; calling of special meetings; forming a Ford section committee consisting of leading representatives from each Communist Party club in Ford, and personal contact and

discussion with every known party Ford employee resulted in a gradual upsurge of party activities within Ford.

From 1949 to 1951, Communist clubs were represented in practically every building unit within the Ford Rouge plant. The party forces at that time not only claimed control or influence of the Ford Local 600 executive board, which with the exception of the general membership is the highest governing body in Ford Local 600, but had made substantial gains in key building units by worming their way into responsible union positions.

As pointed out, Communist recognition of control in Ford Local 600 was not spontaneous and was realized following an intensified campaign from the latter part of 1948 through March 1951, Ford Local 600 elections, during which time hundreds of thousands of leaflets were poured into the Ford Rouge plant in support of the party program on various issues. The Ford Communist Party section headquarters, then located at 5642 Michigan Avenue, Detroit, was a beehive of activity, with the party providing an \$800 electric mimeograph to extend their Ford propaganda barrage, toward furthering the party program on every conceivable issue and promoting their candidates for union offices.

This activity continued to further strengthen the party position in Ford. However, their main weakness was party membership recruiting. In spite of the various party campaigns in Ford, the Ford party section was unable to increase its membership. As a result, the national Communist Party office, in line with the national Ford concentration, sent in Communist youth "colonizers" to gain employment in the Ford Rouge plant and concentrate on membership recruiting and strengthening the party position in Ford.

Communist influence in Ford local 600 reached its peak following the March 1951 Ford local 600 elections. This was substantiated in an article appearing in the April 8, 1951, edition of the Michigan Communist Party weekly publication, the Michigan Worker, in which Phil Schatz, Ford Communist Party organizer, analyzed the March 1951 local 600 elections. Schatz pointed out that the Ford progressives—not mentioning Communists active in control of the progressive caucus—won the presidencies and executive boards of 7 buildings with a working force of 28,500, whereas the opposition or right-wing supporters elected presidents in 8 buildings representing some 22,000 employees.

The 1952 House Un-American Activities Committee exposé of Communist activity in Ford local 600 can be credited with greatly weakening the Communists and their front apparatus in the Ford Rouge plant. This was evidenced by the setting up of an administratorship over the local, which resulted in removal from office of 5 leading local 600 alleged Communists, Paul Boatin, Ed Lock, John Gallo, Nelson Davis, and Dave Moore. The recent Smith Act conviction of 6 leading Communists, 4 of whom were assigned to industrial concentration—Saul Wellman, Nat Ganley, William Allan, and Phil Schatz—resulted in further suppression of the party activities.

This combination of events seriously weakened the Communist Party to the extent that they were forced to reorganize for security reasons, as reflected in the following course of action taken by the party:

Prior to 1951, Communist activity in the Ford Rouge plant was directed through the Ford or Dearborn section of the Michigan Communist Party, which consisted of 10 Communist clubs in the Ford Rouge plant, namely, the pressed steel, foundry, rolling mill, maintenance, plastic, Dearborn assembly, miscellaneous, tool and die, and 2 clubs in the motor building. Attached or affiliated with this section was a club referred to as the ABC club and also known as "Women." This club consisted of women Communist members active in the Ford local 600 auxiliary and also a group of women employed in the offices of Ford local 600. They did not participate in direct activities of this section, but assisted indirectly.

In line with the party reorganization on a security basis, Communist clubs in the Ford Rouge plant were broken down into small groups consisting of not more than five members in each group. As an example, a Communist club which originally had 25 members was broken down into 5 or 6 groups, membership not exceeding more than 5 persons to each group. These clubs, which previously had comprised a party club, were now referred to as a party section. Thus, the party's transition link now extends from the national office to the district, from the district to the region, from the region to the section, and finally the party club.

Open party activity in Ford and Communist club meetings have been practically dormant during the past year. The Communists at present are striving desperately to maintain their present membership and status, without jeopardizing or exposing their position within the Ford Rouge plant or Ford local 600 through any open or direct participation. Their operations consist mainly of extending their program through nonparty persons whom they may influence and who hold responsible positions within the local.

Communist meetings in Ford now consist mainly of personal contacts made by the Communist organizers assigned to Ford concentration. They meet with key Communist Ford employees, during which time party directives are issued and assistance rendered in extending the role and program of the party. The next big project facing the party apparatus at Ford will be to reactivate its clubs and membership with the objective of establishing regular and well-organized Communist club meeting.

Today, Communists in industry are at a premium to the extent that they are now exempt from direct participation at any open party activity. Even the active core of Communists in industry are now hiding behind the cloak of the union and openly disclaim any Communist Party membership affiliation although they continue to set the pace in overall party front activity. Their present method of operation is mainly through progressive caucuses within union locals and, as witnessed today to a small extent in party organization. Although the present Communist dues-paying membership in Michigan industry is small in number, their strength cannot be underestimated as they influence a recognized following of sympathizers, many of whom now hold important positions within unions, attributed largely to Communist guidance and support.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Chairman, I have no further questions of Mr. Schemanske.

Mr. CLARDY. I have just 1 or 2. After having listened to the testimony that was given 2 years ago, and then, of course, having listened

to you and the other witnesses we have thus far had, and having a great deal of knowledge of what is to follow in the public hearings next week, I want to ask you this: Do you agree with the statement that was made recently by Mr. J. Edgar Hoover that I think pretty well summed up the purpose that you had in mind and what you are saying—and let me read what Mr. Hoover said. He put it, to quote one sentence first:

The Communists regard labor unions as instruments to be controlled and used to develop the Communist revolution.

Now, that seems to me to be a very strongly justified statement. Do you not agree that that is obviously the fact and the truth?

Mr. SCHEMANSKE. I do agree with that statement.

Mr. CLARDY. Then he said something else that I think has been apparent to this committee, certainly to me, for quite awhile. Again I quote:

They designated particularly the automobile industry as being the prime target because it is well known that it is one of the most vital industries in our national defense production.

Do you not agree that that is the fact as he has stated it, that it is one of the prime targets and objectives because, as we know, to use a well-known phrase, Detroit and Michigan is the arsenal of democracy, and any crippling strike or any crippling action that is taken in the event of a war with Russia would do more to cripple our defense than almost anything else that could be done. Don't you agree with that?

Mr. SCHEMANSKE. I agree with that. I would say that the thousands of Communist Party publications exemplifies that particular statement?

Mr. CLARDY. I quite agree with you, witness, and I want, on behalf of the committee, to thank you for the splendid cooperation. I like the way in which you have summed things up and brought to focus a lot of things that we have been talking about and thinking about for a long time. I think you have rendered a splendid service to your Government.

The committee will not stand in recess until further call and the witness is excused.

(Whereupon the hearing was recessed.)

AFTERNOON SESSION

(At the hour of 4:45 p. m. of the same day, the proceedings were resumed, Representative Kit Clardy being present.)

Mr. CLARDY. Let the record show that the hearing is now resumed at 4:45 p. m.

Mr. Jones, you have a witness, I observe. Are you ready to begin?

Mr. JONES. Mr. Chairman, we have Mr. Stepanchenko.

Mr. CLARDY. Will you stand and be sworn, sir. Will you raise your right hand? Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. STEPANCHENKO. I do.

Mr. CLARDY. You may be seated. You may proceed, Mr. Jones.

TESTIMONY OF FRANK STEPANCHENKO

Mr. JONES. Will you state your full name and present address?

Mr. STEPANCHENKO. Frank Stepanchenko. My address is 6603 Kercheval, Detroit.

Mr. JONES. Mr. Stepanchenko, I see that you are not accompanied by counsel.

Mr. STEPANCHENKO. No; I am not.

Mr. JONES. You have been advised of your right of counsel if you so desire?

Mr. STEPANCHENKO. Yes.

Mr. CLARDY. You prefer to go alone, I take it.

Mr. STEPANCHENKO. Yes; I would.

Mr. JONES. You were served with a subpoena on the 15th day of December 1953 by a deputy United States marshal to appear at this time?

Mr. STEPANCHENKO. I believe that is right.

Mr. JONES. The original appearance date was scheduled for January 25, 1954, and was postponed in subsequent telegrams from the chairman until May 7, 1954. Your appearance at this time is voluntary, is it not?

Mr. STEPANCHENKO. That is right.

Mr. JONES. When and where were you born?

Mr. STEPANCHENKO. July 24, 1916, Chicago, Ill.

Mr. JONES. Will you give the committee a brief résumé of your educational background?

Mr. STEPANCHENKO. Well, I went through high school, grade school on through high school, graduated.

Mr. CLARDY. Here in Detroit?

Mr. STEPANCHENKO. Yes. I have spent practically all my life here in Detroit.

Mr. JONES. How are you currently employed?

Mr. STEPANCHENKO. I am employed at Ford Motor Co.

Mr. JONES. In what capacity?

Mr. STEPANCHENKO. Well, my classification of work is a die setter. I am serving as a union committeeman.

Mr. JONES. Are you now or have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. STEPANCHENKO. I was, but I am not now.

Mr. JONES. When did you first join the Communist Party?

Mr. STEPANCHENKO. Oh, some time in 1941, after the union was organized at Ford's.

Mr. JONES. That would put it in the late summer of 1941?

Mr. STEPANCHENKO. Yes.

Mr. JONES. At this time did you join the Communist Party or the Young Communist League?

Mr. STEPANCHENKO. It was the Young Communist League.

Mr. JONES. Who recruited you, do you recall?

Mr. STEPANCHENKO. Lee Romano.¹

Mr. JONES. How did Mr. Romano approach you to join the party? What were the discussions you had with him concerning the Communist Party?

¹Testified fully during hearings in 1952. See Communism in the Detroit Area—Part 2 (1952), p. 3035.

Mr. STEPANCHENKO. Well, at the time I was just newly elected to committee work, and he was the recording secretary of the building. He was one of the building officers. He approached me on a number of occasions and talked to me about—he didn't come right out at first, but it finally led up to it, started by explaining to me I should join up with a group of boys for future elections and what not, and if I was on the right side of the fence it would be that much better, organize a strong group, and you would have a better union out at Ford's.

Mr. CLARDY. Did his solicitation then gradually change to the party line and eventually he revealed what he had in mind?

Mr. STEPANCHENKO. Yes.

Mr. JONES. Upon joining the Young Communist League to what group or branch were you assigned?

Mr. STEPANCHENKO. The best I can recollect, they called it the Hudson branch.

Mr. JONES. Do you remember where these meetings were held, the meetings of this Hudson branch of the Young Communist League?

Mr. STEPANCHENKO. Well, at that time practically all of them were held at this hall on Magnolia Street. I believe they called it Magnolia Hall.

Mr. JONES. Approximately how often were they held?

Mr. STEPANCHENKO. For a while they were quite frequent—every Sunday for a while. Then they began to decline and cut to, oh, maybe every month or two.

Mr. JONES. What were the subjects discussed at these meetings; do you remember?

Mr. STEPANCHENKO. Well, there were different things discussed—well, such as bringing in other people and shop problems, also the discussions on problems throughout the world.

Mr. JONES. How long did you remain a member of the Young Communist League?

Mr. STEPANCHENKO. That is one point I am not positive about, but it was until I attained the proper age, and then automatically you went into the party.

Mr. JONES. Do you remember approximately how long this was?

Mr. STEPANCHENKO. I think I was 27—27, I think, is the age.

Mr. CLARDY. You were no longer considered a young Communist then?

Mr. STEPANCHENKO. Then you went into the older group.

Mr. CLARDY. Approximately what year was this; do you remember?

Mr. STEPANCHENKO. I would say around 1944, 1943, or 1944; sometime in there.

Mr. JONES. During your membership in the Young Communist League who were some of the other individuals whom you met with in this Hudson group, these Sunday discussions?

Mr. STEPANCHENKO. Well, there was myself and—why I take a little time to think is because I don't want to get the two groups mixed here—David Averill,¹ for one, and John Saari. There were others there, but I don't know them by name. They were in other units. They were not members of my unit.

Mr. JONES. How was your membership transferred from the Young Communist League to the Communist Party proper?

¹ Testified fully during hearings in 1952. See Communism in the Detroit Area—Part 2, (1952), p. 3157.

Mr. STEPANCHENKO. Well, I was just told that I had become of age to move into the other group; that was all.

Mr. JONES. By whom were you so informed?

Mr. STEPANCHENKO. I think it was more than just—Lee Romano and Roy Wilson.

Mr. JONES. Who issued you your first card in the Communist Party?

Mr. STEPANCHENKO. I am trying to think back who was the secretary of that bunch. I think it was Dave Averill.

Mr. JONES. Where was the card issued to you, in a meeting, or—

Mr. STEPANCHENKO. No, I think I got it right in the shop; it was just handed to me.

Mr. JONES. Do you remember what was the official title or designation of this group that you were assigned to upon joining the Communist Party?

Mr. STEPANCHENKO. Well, they were called the Hudson Branch, and then later they became the Ford Branch and the pressed steel unit.

Mr. JONES. How often did this group hold meetings?

Mr. STEPANCHENKO. Well, whenever it was necessary, such as maybe once a month, and sometimes once in every 3 or 4 months. It all depended on elections coming up or any vital problems—well, elections mainly, and then they would be called together to pick slates and what not.

Mr. JONES. By whom were these meetings called?

Mr. STEPANCHENKO. At that time, Lee Romano.

Mr. JONES. What was his official position with this unit of the Communist Party?

Mr. STEPANCHENKO. He was the top man in the pressed steel building for it.

Mr. JONES. Who were some of the other individuals with whom you meet as members of this unit of the Communist Party?

Mr. STEPANCHENKO. You mean during the period I was in it?

Mr. JONES. Yes.

Mr. STEPANCHENKO. I will refer to my little list. I can't remember all of them.

Mr. JONES. This list you are referring to, is that a list compiled by you from your own knowledge and memory?

Mr. STEPANCHENKO. Yes. You know Lee Romano. Archie Acacia, Dave Averill, Dewey McGee, Alex Washington. Art McPhaul, Max Chait, Roy Naraneich, Douglas Lee, J. B. Jones, Irene Young, Sam Scherizen, Charles Morgan, Roy Wilson, Robert Williams, Simon Moskalik, Emmett Forsythe, John Saari.

Mr. JONES. You mentioned Irene Young. Do you know her present name?

Mr. STEPANCHENKO. She had another name, but Irene Young was the name she went by. She had a long name.

Mr. JONES. Would it be Marinovich?

Mr. STEPANCHENKO. That is it, that is the one.

Mr. JONES. All of the above individuals you attended a closed party meeting with at one time or the other, did you not?

Mr. STEPANCHENKO. Yes.

Mr. JONES. Referring again to your list of individuals with whom you attended close party meetings, I will review the list, and after I identify each again, will you please state whether or not you have any present knowledge as to their Communist Party affiliation?

Mr. STEPANCHENKO. All right.

Mr. JONES. J. B. Jones.

Mr. STEPANCHENKO. I had knowledge at the time that he dropped out, too, just about the time I did.

Mr. JONES. About what time was this?

Mr. STEPANCHENKO. 1946, 1945, right in there. It is pretty close to that date.

Mr. JONES. Lee Romano?

Mr. STEPANCHENKO. Lee Romano, he went out about 1945, I would say.

Mr. JONES. Mr. Chairman, I think the record should disclose that Lee Romano testified in public session before the committee on March 11, 1952, in Detroit, Mich.

Mr. JONES. Dave Averill?

Mr. STEPANCHENKO. Just about the time I went out. I would say about 1945. That was the big year for—

Mr. JONES. Mr. Chairman, I think the record should disclose that Mr. Averill also testified before the Committee on Un-American Activities in public session on March 12, 1952, in Detroit, Mich., testified completely about his activities while a member of the Communist Party.

Archie Accacia?

Mr. STEPANCHENKO. Archie dropped out about the time I did. We were all just about the same time. I would say about 1946.

Mr. JONES. Do you know how Mr. Accacia is currently employed?

Mr. STEPANCHENKO. How he is currently employed? Yes, he is working as an international representative for the national Ford department of the UAW.

Mr. JONES. Dewey McGee?

Mr. STEPANCHENKO. As far as I know he is out of it. I couldn't tell you just exactly when, but approximately the same time as the others I mentioned.

Mr. JONES. By "out of it" you mean to your knowledge he is not now a member?

Mr. STEPANCHENKO. As far as I know, I don't think he is at the present time.

Mr. JONES. Alex Washington?

Mr. STEPANCHENKO. He disaffiliated also as far as I know.

Mr. JONES. Do you know approximately when?

Mr. STEPANCHENKO. Well, about the same time, 1946, around that time.

Mr. JONES. Do you know how he is currently employed?

Mr. STEPANCHENKO. Alex Washington?

Mr. JONES. Yes.

Mr. STEPANCHENKO. Yes, he is working as a salaried employee for Ford Motor Co.

Mr. JONES. John Saari?

Mr. STEPANCHENKO. I don't know about him because he left our building years ago, and I just don't know where he stands.

Mr. JONES. Is he often referred to as Whitey Saari?

Mr. STEPANCHENKO. Yes.

Mr. JONES. Emmett Forsythe?

Mr. STEPANCHENKO. Well, I know he dropped out, too, at the time and he is working on Mr. Carl Stellato's staff, local 600.

Mr. JONES. Max Chait.

Mr. STEPANCHENKO. I heard he was discharged some years ago, and I don't know where he stands.

Mr. JONES. Discharged from the Communist Party?

Mr. STEPANCHENKO. No, the company.

Mr. JONES. Do you have any knowledge as to his present association or affiliation with the Communist Party?

Mr. STEPANCHENKO. No, I haven't seen him in years.

Mr. JONES. Roy Narancich?

Mr. STEPANCHENKO. Well, I don't know. He might still be a member.

Mr. JONES. You have no present knowledge?

Mr. STEPANCHENKO. No, I don't. He is working there in the shop.

Mr. JONES. Douglas Lee?

Mr. STEPANCHENKO. Douglas Lee is working in the shop. He might be yet because he is still selling papers every once in a while.

Mr. JONES. By papers, you mean the Daily Worker?

Mr. STEPANCHENKO. Yes.

Mr. JONES. Irene Young Marinovich?

Mr. STEPANCHENKO. I couldn't tell you about her because she has been out of there for years. I don't know where she is or what happened to her.

Mr. JONES. Sam Scherizen?

Mr. STEPANCHENKO. As far as I know, he dropped out at that time or maybe prior to the time the rest of the fellows did. He is employed in the shop.

Mr. JONES. At Ford Motor Co.?

Mr. STEPANCHENKO. Yes.

Mr. JONES. Charles Morgan?

Mr. STEPANCHENKO. As far as I know he is out of it or was at the time, and he is also working in the shop.

Mr. JONES. Bob Williams?

Mr. STEPANCHENKO. As far as I know, he also was one of the fellows who dropped out about that time, and he is working in the shop.

Mr. JONES. Simon Moskalik?

Mr. STEPANCHENKO. I don't know what happened to him. We haven't seen him around for years. He was quite an elderly man. Either he was sick and left—I don't know just what happened to him.

Mr. JONES. Art McPhaul?

Mr. STEPANCHENKO. He was discharged from the company a few years back. I haven't seen him since.

Mr. JONES. During your attendance at the Communist Party meetings of the Pressed Steel Branch of the Ford section of the Communist Party did you participate in any caucuses or other meetings designed to put slates of officers in for local election?

Mr. STEPANCHENKO. Yes; I have.

Mr. JONES. Were these what you would call closed meetings of the Communist Party, or were others in attendance, other members other than Communist Party members?

Mr. STEPANCHENKO. It usually started out closed, and then they would spread out to an open caucus and then finally to the big mass caucus.

Mr. CLARDY. The Communist group that met first would lay the plans on how to control the rest?

Mr. STEPANCHENKO. Yes; that is right.

Mr. JONES. Where did the Pressed Steel Branch hold their meetings?

Mr. STEPANCHENKO. Well, a number of places. One location was on Michigan and 30th. That is the approximate location—upstairs, over a store. Another location was on Sarena. It was just a store. Those are the two places I can think of right now.

Mr. JONES. Were any meetings ever held at the Civic Center on Erskine?

Mr. STEPANCHENKO. Yes; there were a few meetings held there.

Mr. JONES. During your membership in the Pressed Steel Branch of the Ford section of the Communist Party did any outsiders with respect to outside members of the Communist Party ever speak to this group?

Mr. STEPANCHENKO. What do you mean by "outside"?

Mr. JONES. Members of the Communist Party who were not members of the pressed steel group but possibly members of other sections?

Mr. STEPANCHENKO. Yes; Billy Allan, Bill McKie, about the only two that I recall.

Mr. APPELL. Did James Jackson ever address the group?

Mr. STEPANCHENKO. I don't know.

Mr. APPELL. Phil Schatz?

Mr. STEPANCHENKO. I don't know him.

Mr. CLARDY. Do you know Nat Ganley?

Mr. STEPANCHENKO. Yes; I have seen him around, but I never would be present where he had a meeting. I have seen him around such as maybe at conventions or big union rallies. He would be in the crowd, would be one of the speakers.

Mr. CLARDY. Either of the Winters?

Mr. STEPANCHENKO. No; I have heard them, but—

Mr. CLARDY. But not at those meetings?

Mr. STEPANCHENKO. No.

Mr. APPELL. The address on Michigan Avenue at which the pressed steel club of the Communist Party held its meeting, was that 5642 Michigan Avenue, do you recall?

Mr. STEPANCHENKO. If that is up around Junction, that would be it.

Mr. JONES. When did you sever all connections with the Communist Party?

Mr. STEPANCHENKO. Sometime in 1946.

Mr. JONES. Do you remember; was it toward the early part of the year, the latter part of the year?

Mr. STEPANCHENKO. I would say about the middle of the year, maybe in the spring.

Mr. JONES. How did you sever your connection? Did you tender a formal resignation?

Mr. STEPANCHENKO. I just didn't attend any meetings and just didn't have anything more to do with them.

Mr. JONES. Did any individuals ever approach you on any occasion trying to reactivate your membership in the Communist Party?

Mr. STEPANCHENKO. Many times.

Mr. JONES. Who were these individuals?

Mr. STEPANCHENKO. Art McPhaul, Max Chait—those are two I know of.

Mr. JONES. Do you know a Marty Wellin?

Mr. STEPANCHENKO. Yes.

Mr. JONES. What contact did you have with him?

Mr. STEPANCHENKO. I was his committeeman in the plant. That is how I got to know him.

Mr. JONES. Is he a native Detroiter?

Mr. STEPANCHENKO. As far as I knew, the rumors I heard at the time, that he was from New York. He was not a Detroiter.

Mr. JONES. Did the rumors also state that he was brought in by the Communist Party?

Mr. STEPANCHENKO. Well, yes; something along those lines, that the party had sent him out here. That was the way the rumor—

Mr. JONES. Did you ever attend any closed meetings with him?

Mr. STEPANCHENKO. No.

Mr. APPELL. Were you still a member of the Communist Party when Marty Wellin came into the Detroit area?

Mr. STEPANCHENKO. No. I know he was one because he happened to get a job, and he was in my district, and the first thing he did was looked up his committeeman, and he gave me more hard time than anybody around, and finally through conversations with him he said that he understood from others that I used to be a pretty good boy, and what was the matter with me, and in that way I felt pretty well—I knew then just where he stood.

Mr. JONES. Did you sign a petition in 1946 to place the Communist Party on the ballot?

Mr. STEPANCHENKO. I believe I did.

Mr. JONES. How was your signature to this petition solicited, do you remember?

Mr. STEPANCHENKO. I can't recall who solicited it, but petitions were quite common, at that time, anyway, around the plant, to get committeemen and officers' signatures on them. There were many petitions circulated.

Mr. JONES. Did you sign a mass telegram directed to Harold Medina to free Weinstone in 1949?

Mr. STEPANCHENKO. I could have. I might have, but I don't recall exactly if I did or not. There were so many of those petitions issued that were signed. I can't just pinpoint every one that I did sign.

Mr. JONES. Mr. Chairman, if he has no knowledge one way or the other, I think those should be left out entirely.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Stepanchenko, how do you establish the year 1946 as the year in which you severed your connections with the Communist Party?

Mr. STEPANCHENKO. Well, it was after the war—the war ended in 1945, if I am not mistaken—and the policies of it began to steer away from shop problems and what not and started to lead more into the Soviet Union, thing along those lines, so some of the boys were beginning to wonder what the heck was going on, and they began to gradually cut off from it, and then also there was quite a big fight over positions in the union, and some of the leaders were just using it to promote themselves, get support.

At that time if you were a member of it, you got pretty solid support. They went out and did a good job for whoever was running. If they were supporting you, you had a good chance to get elected.

Mr. APPELL. How long would you say you were a member of the pressed steel unit?

Mr. STEPANCHENKO. Off and on. I don't know how many times I was reinstated. Maybe I would pay a month's dues and have them off my back for a few months, and then they get back to you and ask you, "What's the matter, you are slowing up," and what not, and you would get back in. It was always a constant push, not only myself, but the other fellows, too, because I feel this way, that 90 percent of the fellows in it, they were good, honest boys, and they were just being used, and that is all. A few of them, I imagine, they had other motives, but I feel in the main most of them were good, honest fellows. They had no ideas that these other people had.

Mr. APPELL. How long do you think that you were a member of pressed steel—

Mr. STEPANCHENKO. 1941 to 1946.

Mr. APPELL. But was there a pressed steel unit during the days of the Communist Political Association?

Mr. STEPANCHENKO. Well, they changed names. It was the Communist Party, and then they changed to Communist Political Association.

Mr. APPELL. And then they changed back to the Communist Party. After they changed back to the Communist Party, how long do you think you stayed in after that?

Mr. STEPANCHENKO. Oh, I don't recall just when they made that change from the Communist Political Association.

Mr. APPELL. Do you think you were a member of the Communist Party at the time you signed a Communist Party nominating petition in 1946?

Mr. STEPANCHENKO. That would be hard to say. I imagine I was if I signed it at that time, and maybe I wasn't. I am not too sure. I had objections then because I felt, well, the people could still make their choice of whether they wanted it on the ballot or not.

Mr. APPELL. In 1949 when you permitted your name to be used to a telegram to Judge Medina, what was your feeling in that? I mean, here Weinstone was on trial for advocating the overthrow of the United States Government by force and violence—

Mr. STEPANCHENKO. He was the colored fellow.

Mr. APPELL (continuing). And had been sentenced. Was your decision to lend your name politically that it would help politically within a plan, or were your sympathies for those people, or just—

Mr. STEPANCHENKO. Well, I will tell you just what happened. If I am not mistaken, Art McPhaul got my name on it, and I felt kind of funny. If I declined to sign on the basis of, well, I felt that I was discriminating, use the color line against me, I don't know. That was my feeling at the time, and the talk around then was that, heck, they were just picking on this poor guy for nothing, and there was quite a bit of sympathy rallied around him.

Mr. APPELL. Have you continued since your break or any time after your break within the Progressive caucus? Did you run for office on the Progressive ticket or—

Mr. STEPANCHENKO. Wait a minute. When did Henry Wallace run for office?

Mr. APPELL. He ran for office in 1948.

Mr. STEPANCHENKO. Well, we had what they called a Progressive caucus for local 600 at that time, and I was a member of it, but it

certainly didn't have any Communists in it. They were just there and not on the basis that it was a communistic setup.

Mr. APPELL. Don't they still have a Progressive caucus within Ford?

Mr. STEPANCHENKO. If they do, I don't know about it.

Mr. APPELL. What ticket supports the people who run for office as a Communist candidate, Nelson Davis, Dave Moore, whose ticket? Whose ticket do they run for when they run for office in local 600?

Mr. STEPANCHENKO. They run on their own ticket, just pick one up and run it, that is all.

Mr. APPELL. You mean there is no such thing as Progressive caucus? Don't you have two political factions?

Mr. STEPANCHENKO. If there is one, there isn't one in the pressed steel building.

Mr. APPELL. Not one in pressed steel?

Mr. STEPANCHENKO. No, sir—at least I haven't heard of one for years, and in my unit I know that there isn't one. That I can vouch for.

Mr. APPELL. Well, now, who opposed Carl Stellato at the last election?

Mr. STEPANCHENKO. Gene Prato.

Mr. APPELL. Joe Hogan?

Mr. STEPANCHENKO. That was prior to that.

Mr. APPELL. Take the year prior, the year Joe Hogan ran. What ticket did Joe Hogan run on?

Mr. STEPANCHENKO. He headed the ticket.

Mr. APPELL. Whose ticket was it? Wasn't that the Progressive caucus?

Mr. STEPANCHENKO. Well, what remained of it, yes, as far as I know.

Mr. APPELL. You mean it died with that election and the defeat of Hogan?

Mr. STEPANCHENKO. Well, in the pressed steel unit it did.

Mr. APPELL. I am talking about the overall, local 600-wise.

Mr. STEPANCHENKO. I don't get the point you are trying to arrive at.

Mr. APPELL. We have the testimony now and testimony of 1952 of the Progressive caucus, and of the thing which they called the inner caucus through which the Communist Party controls the broad Progressive caucus, nominating candidates who are going to run for office, and in that manner supporting those candidates.

Mr. STEPANCHENKO. What was the question again?

Mr. APPELL. Did the Progressive caucus die with the defeat of Joe Hogan?

Mr. CLARDY. You mean the Progressive caucus as it applies to the entire Ford local.

Mr. APPELL. Yes.

Mr. STEPANCHENKO. Well, I can't honestly sit here and tell you whether it is alive or dead. There are people that were connected with it around, but I can say this, that in my unit it is a dead duck.

Mr. CLARDY. It may exist in local 600 somewhere, but not in your branch?

Mr. STEPANCHENKO. It doesn't exist openly as far as I know, and when Joe Hogan was defeated, it wasn't long after that he had a job

in the local. Stellato appointed him, where he remains in there today. When I said that I wasn't insinuating anything against Joe Hogan, because as far as I know, the guy has been clean.

Mr. APPELL. I wasn't—and this record doesn't intend that. It was just to show that at the time Carl Stellato was opposed he was opposed by another candidate who supposedly was the Progressive caucus candidate.

Mr. STEPANCHENKO. It was Prato the last term and prior to that it was Joe Hogan.

Mr. APPELL. Do you believe, as a result of your encounter in the Communist Party that the Communist Party has the interest of the workers of Ford local 600 at heart?

Mr. STEPANCHENKO. Well, at times I used to think they did, and then at times I just saw different.

Mr. CLARDY. Actually were they not merely representing that that was the fact in order to get people into it, but in reality they were trying to further the Communist cause with everything they did?

Mr. STEPANCHENKO. Oh, yes; that is for sure, because back around 1946 that is when they began to show themselves where they were hitting at, and that is what really busted it up.

Mr. APPELL. Walter Dorosh was identified in the 1952 hearings, and he was a witness before the committee, and he was identified as the press director of the Communist Party within Ford.

Mr. STEPANCHENKO. The press director of the Communist Party?

Mr. APPELL. Yes.

Mr. STEPANCHENKO. I don't know.

Mr. APPELL. I say he was identified as that, and there was sworn testimony that that is the job he held.

Mr. STEPANCHENKO. When you say Ford, do you mean the union or the—

Mr. APPELL. No; the Communist Party. But he is chairman on the press committee of the local right now, isn't he?

Mr. STEPANCHENKO. He is on the publicity committee.

Mr. APPELL. Why would a member of the Communist Party and a leading member of the Communist Party get that type of job?

Mr. STEPANCHENKO. Well, first, I don't know if he ever was a Communist. I don't know. I have known Walter Dorosh; I have seen him around, but never at a Communist meeting. If he was, it was certainly unknown to me, and I guess Carl just played politics with him and Walter, and Walter Dorosh was quite liked in the tool-and-die unit, and I guess for that reason he just put him on his publicity committee.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Chairman, I have no further questions.

Mr. JONES. I have nothing further.

Mr. CLARDY. May I thank you, sir, and I want to thank you for a special reason. As you know, your name was brought into the matter in the hearing held here a little over 2 years ago, and may I congratulate you, sir, on having the forthrightness and the courage to come before us. You are in a very small select group. Most of those choose to refrain from clearing their name, even when we give them an oppor-

tunity. We offer the people who are named the privilege of coming before us, as you have voluntarily done. Unfortunately, most of them refuse to come forward. I think frankly that is because most of them have not genuinely repented, so I want to thank you on behalf of the committee very much.

Mr. STEPANCHENKO. I appreciate that.

Mr. CLARDY. We will adjourn the proceeding at this time until 10 o'clock tomorrow morning.

(Whereupon, at 5:15 p. m., the hearing was recessed to 10 a. m., Friday, April 30, 1954.)

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